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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. IX
For the year 1918-19

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MYTHIC SOCIETY
Daly Memorial Hall
—BANGALORE CITY—

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INDEX to VOL. IX.

PAPERS READ OR CONTRIBUTED :—

	PAGES
Annual Meeting. The Eighth of the Mythic Society ...	1 to 16
Bhūshana Lakshanam (<i>or, a Description of ornaments usually worn by Indian Images</i>)	123 to 35
Brahmanic Temples and Temple Worship in Salem District	158 to 67
Charudatta, A Fragment	181 to 86
Damascene Steel	212 to 13
Essentials of Sanskrit Culture, The—	67 to 83
Exact Sciences in the Vedas, The	237 to 51
Funeral Customs. Marriage and—in Salem District...	221 to 37
Great Sage of Persia and his followers, The— ...	270 to 98
 KALIBASA—	
(1) Age of—	16 to 57
(2) The Formative Influences of—	57 to 63
(3) Sociological Ideals of—	95 to 97
(4) Some Views on the Philosophy and Religion of—	98 to 101
(5) —and Shakespeare	151 to 58
Marriage, Some Notes on—and Funeral Customs in Salem District	221 to 37
Mysore Plateau. Some Primitive Stone Implements from the—	135 to 41
Nandidrug	298 to 307
Nepal. The Early Kings of—	110 to 23
Nomads in India. The—	186 to 205, 252 to 69
Oriental Religions. Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering as taught by some—	102 to 109
Ornaments worn by Indian Images	123 to 35
Persia, The Great Sage of—and his followers ...	270 to 98
Primitive Stone Implements. Some—from the Mysore Plateau	135 to 41
Rabindranath, Dr—Tagore and the Mythic Society	209 to 21
Redemption from Sin and Suffering. Salvation and—as taught by some Oriental Religions	252 to 69
Sakuntala	57 to 62
Salem District. Some Notes on Marriage and Funeral Customs of—	221 to 37

	PAGES.
Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering as taught by some Oriental Religions ...	102 to 109
Sanskrit Culture. The Essentials of— ...	67 to 83
Stone Implements. Some Primitive—from the Mysore Plateau ...	135 to 41
Temples and Temple Worship in Salem District. Some Brahmanic— ...	158 to 67
Tippu Sultan from a Contemporary Memoir ...	168 to 80
Vaishnava Sect. A Little known— ...	206 to 208
Vedas. The Exact Sciences in the— ...	237 to 51
REVIEWS OF BOOKS, REPORTS AND PERIODICALS—	
Anēkāṛtha-Samuchchaya; Śāsvatakōśa of Śāsvata. ...	215 & 16
Ararat. The— ...	145 & 46
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal of the— ...	219 & 20
Asoka; J. M. Macphail ...	91
Astronomical Observations of Jai Singh; G. R. Kaye ...	145
Austral-African Notes and Anecdotes. Some— ...	216 & 17
Avesta and the Gathas; Dadachanji ...	308 & 309
Beginnings of South Indian History; S. K. Aiyengar, Rao Saheb ...	84 to 89
Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Journal of the— ...	146; 316 & 17-
Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. Journal of the— ...	147 & 48
Conjeeveram Inscriptions of Mahēndravarman I. G. J. Dubreuil ...	309 & 10
Gazetteer of the Salem District; F. J. Richards ...	90 & 91
Guide to Taxila; Sir John Marshall ...	92 & 93
Guide to Sanchi; Sir John Marshall ...	92
Indian Antiquary; the— ...	218 & 19; 311
Indian Painting; Percy Browne ...	142 to 44
Indian Architecture; the— ...	312
Islamic Review and Muslim India ...	312 & 13
Jainism. A study of—Kannoo Mal ...	214 & 15
Kanarese Literature; E. P. Rice ...	89 & 90
Modern Review ...	146; 313 & 14
Mysore University Magazine ...	310 & 11
Mysore Archæological Department. Annual Report of— ...	314 & 15
Royal Asiatic Society. The Journal of— ...	148 ; 316
Samkhya System; Dr. A. B. Keith ...	214
South Indian Research. Journal of— ...	217 & 18
Zarathusthra and his Contemporaries in the Rig-Veda; Hodivala ...	308

The
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VOL. IX.]

OCTOBER, 1918.

[No. 1

**THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY**

Bangalore, July 31st, 1918

DEWAN BAHADUR, RAJAKARYA PRASAKTHA

J. S. CHAKRAVARTHI, ESQ., M.A., F.R.A.S.

in the Chair.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., General Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT

The session 1917-18 has been one of steady progress in every direction.

MEMBERSHIP.—The number of our members has increased beyond our most sanguine expectations considering the present circumstances. We had feared that with so many other interests to engross the public mind, a modest Society like ours might, to a certain extent, fail to attract further attention. Yet 115 new members have sought election during the year, and now we have on our rolls 200 resident and 224 moffusil members. We doubt very much whether this is not a record for any society of this kind in India.

FINANCES.—The statement of accounts gives a comprehensive idea of our financial position. One pleasant feature is that the large outstandings at the commencement of the session have been recovered. The amount due

for subscriptions has come down from Rs. 441 to Rs. 172-12-0, out of which Rs. 15 has since been recovered, leaving a balance of Rs. 156-12-0—a state of affairs which in these times is very encouraging. We had reason to believe that the large outstandings in previous years were due mostly to forgetfulness on the part of our members. To make it more convenient for them, we have during the year under review acted in accordance with (b) of rule 7, with the result that subscriptions have been paid regularly, and arrears cleared up to a great extent. This enables us to start the new session with a small balance on the right side. We only hope that this happy state of things will continue, and that all our members will remember that with our rate of subscription very low, and the cost of paper and publishing expenses rising, it is a matter of vital importance to the Society that the subscriptions should never be allowed to fall in arrears.

MEETINGS.—On our side we have been careful to keep up the Society's activities at the usual level. Your committee have met every month, and we have had nine lectures as per rule 8 (a). We have been very fortunate with our lecturers, and we are happy to avail ourselves of this opportunity to tender our heartiest thanks to all the gentlemen, who have so readily come forward to place at our disposal the results of their researches in the subjects which fall within the scope of our Society.

JOURNAL.—Our Quarterly continues to attract attention all over India, and the large number of subscribers outside this Province bears witness to the fact that its interest is not confined only to Mysore. Our articles have covered a wide range of subjects, and we can assure our members that we shall always endeavour to keep our Journal in the foremost rank of similar publications. Though we have been advised by many to increase the price of the Journal, we feel reluctant to adopt that step, and we have resolved not to make any change for the present.

LIBRARY.—Though modest as yet, our Library is increasing at a pace which promises well for the future. During the year we have received a large number of Government publications; many books have been presented to us, and thanks to Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.S.I., C.I.E. (Rs. 150), Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, C.S.I. (Rs. 100), Messrs. K. V. Ramaswamy Iyengar (Rs. 105), V. R. Thyagaraja Aiyar, M.A. (Rs. 30), and a sympathizer (Rs. 50) who wishes to remain anonymous, we have now Rs. 435 with which we propose to purchase new books as opportunity arises.

We still hope that the Mysore Government will favourably consider our request, that all the books bearing on our subjects and at present scattered in several libraries, may be entrusted to our keeping, so that scholars may find housed together all the works which may help them in their researches.

We shall then be in a position also to prepare and issue a useful catalogue. Some of our members, forgetting the old adage that 'Rome was not built in a day', seem to be rather impatient. We appreciate their feeling perfectly well, and we know that as long as our books have not been catalogued, the usefulness of our Library is impaired to a certain degree. We can only promise to do our best to see that this large and difficult work is commenced at an early date.

OUR HALL.—The Mysore Durbar have been very generous in their grant towards the maintenance of the Daly Memorial Hall and surrounding grounds. This grant has enabled us to furnish the hall, to embellish the grounds, and to make the Mythic Society's habitation an ornament to the locality. We have been enabled also to entertain a full-time curator, who resides on the premises and devotes all his time to the work of the Society. We have been happy to lend our Hall several times during the year to the Forest and Agricultural Departments and to the Philosophical Association, and, in future, it will always be a pleasure to the Trustees of the Daly Memorial Hall to see the usefulness of the Society's habitation enhanced, by its being placed at the disposal of Government departments and literary associations for public meetings.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., and, with the gracious permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the Curator of the Curzon Park, Mysore, have presented us the two stone bulls and two stone elephants respectively, which adorn the entrance of our Hall.

In conclusion, the Committee beg to offer once more the most heartfelt thanks to all those who have assisted them during the year under review to make the Mythic Society what it is on the eighth anniversary of its foundation, and they appeal to all its members to help in increasing its usefulness, both by securing more members and by taking a more lively part in its activities.

Father Tabard moved the adoption of the Report as follows :—

FATHER TABARD'S SPEECH

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—Year after year I stand in this place to propose the adoption of the Report. But before doing so I am expected to make a few remarks regarding the Society in general.

This year, with your permission, it is my intention to sketch out the history of the Mythic Society. Now that it has passed its ninth birthday, everyone can see that it has come to stay, and it is time to place on record the principal incidents of its existence.

The idea of the Society originated with Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S., the then Collector of the C. and M. Station, and though, I know, he would be the first to disclaim the honour, yet if a single individual can be called

"The founder of the Mythic Society," it is he. But on several occasions he has expressed the wish to share that honour with the gentlemen, Indian and European, who attended, what I may call the Foundation Meeting, at his house, on the 9th May 1909. Their names appear as "Original Members" on our list of members. They are the founders of the Mythic Society.

The idea which presided at the foundation of the Society was, that India is not known as she ought to be, and that there are many fields in her history, antiquities, etc., still unexplored.

With obvious alterations, each one of us might have made ours, the words of the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, "When I considered with pain that in the fluctuating, imperfect and limited condition of life, such enquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope that if in any country or community such an union could be effected, it was among the gentlemen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted."

These grave words of the pioneer organizer of Asiatic researches, so far back as one hundred and fifty years ago, express forcibly the hopes and fears that reigned in our breasts when we few met for the first time, nine years ago, and decided to launch this infant organization on the waters of the intellectual world. While afraid of the sloth natural to human nature which slowly creeps on, and extinguishes all energy in human efforts, there were elements of hope founded on the fact that the Society was started in Mysore in the midst of scholars, one of whom had decided to devote his life to researches connected with southern India, another an Englishman and a friend of Mysore, had laid with patient labour the foundations of an enlarged history of Mysore, while a third, a reputed Indian Sanskrit scholar, had given us the best translation of Shankara's *Bhagavat Gita*, and a fourth, a talented son of the soil, had already won for himself laurels as the discoverer and translator of the *Arthashastra*, while a fifth occupied the foremost rank as an ideal archæologist and antiquarian. Need I say that I refer here to Rao Sahib S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, Messrs. Rice, Shama Sastri, and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar !

Thus, while the fears of Sir William Jones were more than counter-balanced by the hopes that *his* Society was being started in Bengal, the same fears we were subject to, were with equal effectiveness thrown into the shade by our confidence in the fact that our infant was being ushered into the world in an atmosphere like that of Mysore, ever congenial to all high aspirations and whole-hearted effort.

Were we too optimistic? Have not the advancing years proved to the world that a Society like ours was a *desideratum* in the higher life of Mysore and of South India? In my humble opinion it has so proved its title. Leaving apart one of our prime objectives, the cultural *rapprochement* that has been effected between workers in the field, Indian and European, more solid work has been done in researches. We need mention only some of the subjects discussed at our meetings, the domain of Caste, the Vaishnava hagiology, the Dravidian problem, Village administration in the Buddhist period, Local Self-government in ancient India, the vicissitudes of the Vijayanagar empire in Mysore, the rise into power of the Wodeyars, university culture during the Mediæval period in Mysore, the relations between Tippu and his Foreign allies, and last but not least, the outlines of the history of the far-famed Hoysala empire sketched out with admirable clearness along with the topography of Halebid its capital, by Mr. S. Srikantayya.

Among Europeans the Rev. Messrs. E. Thompson, F. Goodwill, and A. Slater have attracted large audiences and delighted our eyes by most interesting pictures, they were captivating our minds by the masterly way in which they have explained to us the ruins of Vijayanagar, Bijapur, and many sacred places in or outside Mysore, the siege of Bangalore, the Buddhist caves in South India, etc., one of them in his choice going even as far afield as Babylonia, the civilization of which appears to be intimately connected with South India. A study of 'Serpent Worship' and of several religions in Mysore, Side-lights thrown on the history of Seringapatam and the British prisoners in Mysore, are due to those gentlemen who, from the foundation of the Society, have taken a keen and practical interest in its development.

We hope that during the coming session, the Rev. Mr. Goodwill will continue his interesting monographs on the 'Mysore Fortresses,' and the Rev. Mr. Thompson will give us his promised lecture on 'Assyria.'

I must limit myself in putting on record the work done by the pioneers of the Society; yet the list would be incomplete if I omitted the name of Professor F. R. Sell, M.A., who, from the very first day, has been a source of strength to us in the several capacities of editor and treasurer. To him is due the success of our Journal from the first years of its publication.

Gentlemen, work of the above kind is as essential as the air we breathe, if national homogeneity and national greatness, and the consequent pride in one's country are objects worth striving for. But while recognising this in full, I would be false to myself and to the Society, if I hid from you all the extent to which as a learned body we are defective. Anthropology as such, as far as Mysore is concerned, has found no advocate among our members, though

Mr. R. H. Campbell has shown us the way to set about it in his fascinating paper on the 'Jungle Tribes of the Vizagapatam Agency Tracts.' Much spade work has been done in this direction by Mr. H. V. Nanjundaya, C.I.E., in his lucid little monographs, but what is required is a living knowledge born of actual contact, and sympathetic observation photographed on paper. Anecdotic sketches like this will go far towards making one and all of our Indian members throw off the accidental trappings of birth and recognise beneath these the kinship, racy of the soil, which binds them all.

Again, who were the earliest settlers in historical times of the plateau of Mysore, and did they find Mysore virgin soil on their advent, or were there others autochthonous to the country? What and where are the remains of the existence of such a people, and how are they to be found? The tracts connected with Mysore were once much larger, and innumerable have been the dynasties that fought for the splendour of its rule and flourished on its soil. Its earliest glimpse discloses a medley of Mauryas, Kadambas, Satavahanas, Banas, and Rashtrakutas fleeting before one's gaze as pictures in a kaleidoscope. All these dynasties claim for themselves an antiquity more hoary than the rest. Inscriptions tell us but little. Has any of our members conceived the idea of poring over the available legends, Pauranic and secular, touching on these tracts and these dynasties, besides the folklore, tradition and popular ballads that may be current, and sifting the true from the mythic, settling the basis on which an accurate history of Greater Mysore could be built?

Again, concerning the magnificent wilds of teak and sandal, the home of the elephant and the bison bordering on the Sahayadri, and now known as the Mysore Malnad, have these impenetrable forests existed as they are forever, or do those mighty giants and those sunless recesses represent late conquests of untamed nature over fair fields and thriving towns? These are problems which, gentlemen, I confess, haunt my imagination incessantly, and I would like that our Society set about unravelling problems like these.

But first as I am in recognising our limitations, first also am I in counselling optimism; for as our Secretary has reminded us 'Rome was not built in a day,' and the truth profound as it is true, of what Sir William Jones said when opening his Society, appeals to me more and more as years go by. Says he, "I may confidently foretell, that an institution so likely to afford entertainment and convey knowledge to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain degrees, as the Royal Society, which at first was only a meeting of a few literary friends at Oxford, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a Halley was their secretary, and a Newton their president."

While thus the Society relies on the individual enthusiasm, the originality and the leisure of its members for the accomplishment of good work, it has its own responsibility of providing a comprehensive and up-to-date library of standard works for the use of such members. In fact, a library such as I refer to is the *sine quâ non* of a research society like ours, and I would add my voice to that of our Secretary in requesting the Government of His Highness, who have already done so much for us, to crown their benefactions, by committing to our charge all the kindred literature they have at their disposal, scattered for the present among many offices, and many departments. We assure them, we will abundantly justify our use of the volumes so granted to us.

One word more with regard to the name we gave our Society. It has been a puzzle to many, and yet few, perhaps, have realised our difficulty in naming the Society. It was not to be only archæological, historical, philographical, etc., it was to embrace all those subjects, and more. So, one of us suggested that, as we were likely to meet with many myths on our way, and as, in our opinion, truth without fiction was all that India needed to establish her claim to a very early and high civilization, we should call our Society the Mythic Society, setting thereby to ourselves the task to discover, as far as possible, what in India is a myth and what is not, in order to build upon a sound foundation the history of India and of the Indian civilization.

There may be two opinions about the suitability of that name, but the Society has become known by it, and the Mythic Society it is likely to remain till the end of the chapter.

With regard to the Report, I have very little to say. It is exhaustive and eminently satisfactory, a record of good work done, and a promise that good work will also be a feature of the coming Session.

Before sitting down I may be permitted to express the thanks of the Society to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, to His Highness the Yuvaraja, to His Highness the Maharaja's Government, for their generosity towards the Society, and the continued and practical interest they graciously continue to take in its welfare, and in my own personal name to the learned band of enthusiastic and devoted workers who, more than myself, are the mainstay of the Mythic Society.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in moving that the Report be adopted.

Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, B.A., Chief Secretary to Government, seconded the adoption of the Report, and it was adopted unanimously.

Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., late Inspector General of Education, proposed in the course of a very humorous speech, and

Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., Professor, Central College, seconded that Father Tabard be re-elected President for another year. The proposition was carried by acclamation.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, proposed, and Mr. V. Subramanya Iyer, B.A., Secretary to the Education Committee of the Economic Conference, seconded the following gentlemen as office-bearers and members of the Managing Committee for the ensuing year. This was carried unanimously.

Vice-Presidents

RAJASEVA DHURINA SIRDAR M. KANTARAJ URS, ESQ., B.A., C.S.I.
 JUSTICE SIR LESLIE MILLER, Kt., I.C.S.
 RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, ESQ., M.A.
 F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.
 A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E.

General Secretary

A. V. RAMANATHAN, ESQ., B.A.

Editor

F. R. SELL, ESQ., M.A.

Sub-Editor

K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., B.A.

Honorary Treasurer

S. SHAMANNA, ESQ., B.A.

Branch Secretaries

FOR ETHNOLOGY, C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
 FOR RELIGIONS, THE REV. F. GOODWILL.
 FOR HISTORY, S. SRIKANTAYYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.
 FOR FOLKLORE, THE REV. E. S. EDWARDES.

Committee

The above *ex officio* and

DR. P. S. ACHYUTA RAO, L.M. & S.; P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A.,
 PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR,
 ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., E. P. METCALFE, ESQ., B.Sc., K. CHANDY, ESQ.,
 B.A., V. SUBRAMANYA IYER, ESQ., B.A., G. T. HALL, ESQ.

Curator and Librarian on the premises.

K. RAMANUJAN, ESQ.

Dewan Bahadur Mr. J. S. Chakravarthi, the Chairman of the day, spoke as follows, in bringing the proceedings to a close :—

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—In making a few observations on the report which has been read to you and on the working of the Mythic Society generally at this annual general meeting of the Society, I think it necessary, in the first place, to explain the circumstances under which I occupy the chair at this important gathering. Many of you may not be aware that as originally arranged, Sir Leslie Miller was to have presided on this occasion. Two or three days ago it became known to us that Sir Leslie Miller was suffering from an attack of influenza and would be unable to preside on this occasion. I have no doubt that you will all join me in wishing a speedy recovery to Sir Leslie Miller. As soon as it became known that Sir Leslie Miller would not be able to preside, Father Tabard, with his never-failing resourcefulness, flung his net to get another President. But this time he has got only a small fish and here am I, the small haul, standing before you to discharge the duties of Chairman at the meeting. Many of you have heard of the Indian saying (*Madhwabhawe guram dad yat*) मध्वभावे गुरुं दधातु, that is to say, when you have to use honey in the course of a religious ceremony and you cannot get honey, you may put jaggery in its place. So it is on this occasion, and as you have not got the original article, you must be satisfied with an indifferent substitute.

Perhaps I can show you a way by which you may derive some consolation out of the disappointment caused by the absence of Sir Leslie Miller. As all of you know, next to the great war and the Chelmsford-Montagu Reform Scheme, the most widely discussed topic in India at the present day is the great epidemic of influenza which is prevalent in most parts of the country. In some places it is known as the war fever, in some places as Bombay fever, while in other places it is known by various names such as influenza, dengue and so forth. It has disorganized the working of the large factories and mills in Bombay, dislocated the working of the university, colleges and schools in Calcutta, and interfered with the operations of banks, business houses and government offices in many parts of the country. It is satisfactory to note that, a small and humble Mythic Society as we are, we have not been entirely ignored by this great epidemic, and it may give consolation to some of us that in having the work connected with our annual general meeting disturbed by the influenza epidemic, we are in such excellent and distinguished company.

You have all heard the lucid and interesting report that has been presented by the Managing Committee. We all agree that this is a very satisfactory report. The Mythic Society is progressing on right lines and at a fair rate.

We have august Patrons and Vice-Patrons who take keen interest in our work welfare, and of whom any society in the world might well be proud. We have a President whose enthusiasm and energy are only equalled by his scholarship and abilities, and whose qualities of head and heart enforce the love and admiration of one and all who come into contact with him. We have a galaxy of distinguished Vice-Presidents and a learned council of management. We have energetic secretaries who do not let the grass grow under their feet in any matter, and we have also a watchful and lynx-eyed Treasurer who knows the psychological movement and the right method of squeezing subscriptions from members irrespective of their being hard up in these days of high prices. Then we have got our Journal which is making a very satisfactory progress in the hands of a competent board of editors. The get-up of the Journal continues to be excellent and its matter of a higher order. Indeed, the Journal of the Mythic Society is gradually pushing its way to the forefront amongst the journals of this class published in India. The Society has also the good fortune of possessing a habitation of its own in this fine building. Considering all points, it may be said that amongst associations of this class started in India in recent years, the Mythic Society of Bangalore is one of the most successful and prosperous institutions, and we may all look forward with hope and confidence to the long career of solid and useful work which lies before it in years to come.

The Mythic Society is concerned with the advancement of research work and of studies in history, and the allied subjects, such as archæology, ethnology, philology, and so forth. What a pity that in the midst of all these 'logies' we cannot call history histology, that name having been appropriated by another branch of knowledge. Before an audience like this, I need hardly dwell upon the charm and fascination of studies in these branches. They are concerned with ourselves, and with things and institutions which are nearest and of immediate interest to us, e.g., our manners and customs, our language and literature, our beliefs and religious practices, and our immediate surroundings. Is it not of the greatest interest to us that we should know something of the origin and history of all these aspects of our existence? In fact, life without such knowledge is something like living in the dark. I dare say many of you, in the course of your travels, must have arrived as I have often arrived at a new place on a dark night. You are driven to your lodgings in utter ignorance of your surroundings. You enter into your little room, you pace backwards and forwards in it like a caged animal. You then move to the window and look out into the darkness outside; and seeing nothing except, perhaps, the rough outlines of the country and the starry heavens, you turn with a feeling of narrowness and confine-

ment to the compass of your little room. But if you come out into the open in the early hours of the morning and watch the soft grey shades of dawn spread on the eastern horizon, if you gaze on those grey shades until they break out into a thousand radiant hues of unutterable splendour, if you then see the gradual advent of the golden morning light on the surrounding landscape, you will observe one object after another emerging out of the darkness into the field of your observation until your heart throbs with interest and sympathy and love, and you stand in the midst of a charming scenery full of life and beauty and light. And even so it is with the progress of the branches of knowledge with which our Society is concerned. We follow certain manners and customs, but we do not know their origin and significance ; we speak a language, and we do not know how it began and what changes it has undergone before it has reached its present condition ; we adhere to certain faiths and beliefs, but we do not know by what process they arose and how they got possession of our mind ; we walk through town and villages, we see rivers and mountains, but we do not know what stirring scenes and great events they have witnessed in the past. It is only when history and the allied sciences hold up the torch and flood the field with their light that we are able to perceive in some measure the history and origin, the meaning and significance of all these things. And then all things in us and around us acquire new interest, and a new light breaks into the course of life itself.

But it is not only with the past that these sciences are concerned. Some people think that history and allied sciences only deal with the dead past, which, in their opinion, had better been allowed to bury its dead. No greater fallacy ever existed about the function and value of historic studies. History studies the past only with the object of throwing light on the present and guiding us in the future. A student of anatomy studies dead and dry bones and dissects dead bodies, but he does not do it with the object of confining his attention to dead bones and dead bodies all his life. He studies dead bones so that he may set living bones right when they go wrong, and cuts the dead in order he may heal the living. And so it is with the historical sciences. They light up the past, so that this glorious light reflected in the mirror of reason may illuminate the otherwise impenetrable darkness of the future. It is for this that the study of history is essential to national progress. It is for this reason that Max Muller has said that, " a people that can feel no pride in the past, in its history and literature, loses the mainstay of its national character." No nation which wants to advance and achieve progress, can afford to remain ignorant of its past history. For any kind of development, efficient human machinery is indispensable. You may have

machines and mechanical development, you may have oil and gas and steam and electricity, you may have industries and material wealth, but without moral power and spiritual force in the men who handle them, all this will be of no avail, and no progress will be lasting. And for securing these qualities in the human material, the study of history and allied subjects is absolutely essential. A few months ago the great Bengal educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mukerji visited Mysore as a member of the Universities' Commission. At the earnest request of the staff of the Maharaja's college, he spoke a few words of advice to the University students at Mysore. And what was his message? He said, "study history specially the history of India and the history of the great and glorious nation, with whose fortunes the fate of India is indissolubly linked for all time to come." Sir Ashutosh is not primarily a history student. He is a great mathematician, a great jurist, and a great educationist. He has no reason to be partial to historic studies to the exclusion of other branches. But he has done a great deal of work for the uplifting of our Motherland, and he has found that a study of history and the allied sciences is absolutely necessary to give the proper human material necessary for working in the different fields of national regeneration. It is for this that he so emphatically urged the necessity of historical studies on the students of Mysore, during the few minutes for which they had the privilege of being brought into contact with him.

This aspect of the subject is very important. It is very necessary always to bear in mind that the subjects with which we are concerned in this Society are not dead sciences, but are of living and real importance with reference to the present and the future. I shall illustrate the fact, if you will bear with me for a few minutes, by one or two examples. In order that these illustrations may fulfil their purposes all the better, I shall select them from the burning questions of the day. Take first the question of India's industrial ideal. There are some politicians and economists who think that it is better for India to remain for all time a mainly agricultural country. They think that India, from the nature of her climate and physical conditions, and from the habits and temperament of the population, can excel in agriculture and in the production of raw material, but that the conditions are not favourable to the development of India as a great manufacturing country. They seem to think that by nature and by past traditions, Indians cannot compete with the other races of the world in the department of manufacture on a large scale. The present conditions of India may lend a certain amount of colour to a proposition like this. But if it can be proved by historical research that large quantities of manufactured goods of the finest quality were exported from India to the various countries of the world in ancient times; if it can

be demonstrated that Indian ships, laden with Indian manufactures, crossed the ocean, and their freight flooded the markets of distant lands ; if it can be shewn that streams of Roman gold flowed into India in exchange for the products of Indian looms and forges and handicrafts ; in short, if it can be proved that at one time India was the greatest manufacturing country of the world in certain branches, then we should have no reason to feel discouraged as regards the future outlook of India as a manufacturing nation. We shall then be justified in regarding the present depression only as a passing phase, and may hope that, given favourable opportunities and facilities, and suitable training under the masterful guidance of Great Britain, she can once again assume her commanding position in this branch of activity.

I shall now pass on to an illustration of a somewhat different kind. Take the case of the language problem of India. We all know that there are more than two hundred languages spoken in different parts of India. Of these about twenty are major languages, each spoken by more than ten lakhs of people. Now in connection with this diversity of languages a great difficulty presents itself. On the one hand, it is urged that the vernaculars of the people should be developed in all possible ways. It is contended that education up to the highest standard should be imparted through the medium of the vernacular, and that all the business, social and political activities of the country should be carried on in the language of the people. There is, no doubt, great force in these arguments ; for unless all activities are carried on through the language spoken by the people, development is likely to be stunted and retarded. On the other hand, there is a keen desire that the different provinces of India should gradually come closer and closer to one another linguistically and otherwise, so that in course of time there may be one homogeneous nation. These two ideals are contradictory. If each province or district is going to develop entirely through its vernacular, then in course of time instead of having one Indian nation you will have India divided into a large number of water-tight compartments. Now what is the solution of this dilemma ? The only logical solution that presents itself is that the whole of India should have a common vernacular. If this end can be attained, then the two ideals will be reconciled. You can have development of the vernacular and you can have a united Indian nation. But incredulous voices will at once ask, "Is such a thing possible or practicable ? Can the different parts of India be made to adopt a common vernacular by any possible means ?" Who is to answer these great and stupendous questions ? Who but history and the allied sciences philology and anthropology ? History can tell us whether there have been such cases in the past, whether nations have changed their languages on such a large scale. Philology can tell us whether language is a race-characteristic,

or whether it is a mere acquired art of man which he can vary and change just like the other acquired arts. Anthropology will tell us whether there is anything inherent in the nature and constitution of man, which makes any attempt at language reform of the kind indicated impossible or impracticable. It is not possible for me to go into greater details in this matter on the present occasion. Suffice it to say that I myself in my humble way have ventured to ask these questions of history, philology and anthropology. And I have got the most emphatic and startling answers. History has shewn dozens of instances in which linguistic changes of this kind over vast areas have taken place in the past and are taking place at the present time. Philology has answered that the language is not a race-characteristic, and that there are innumerable instances in which different races speak the same language, and people of the same race speak different languages. Anthropology has plainly answered that a nation, if it wants, can change its language as readily as an individual can change a suit of clothes. The results of these investigations are being published elsewhere, and I mention these facts now only to shew that history and the allied subjects are not dead sciences but are of real and living interest, helping us to solve the most momentous questions of future progress and development.

I shall only mention one more instance, and this is connected with one of the most important measures demanding our active attention at the present moment. The question of man-power of the British empire in the present war is under the consideration of the very highest authorities, and attempts are being made to induce recruits to join the colours in large numbers. Mysore has done well in this matter of furnishing recruits, and it is sure to do much more. But what is the difficulty which our recruiting officers experience on all sides? They say that the martial spirit is dead amongst the people. It is a pity that it should appear to be so. But if it can be shewn that not many centuries ago the inhabitants of these tracts were a military race, if it can be shewn that deeds of superb heroism and valour adorn many a page of the Mysore annals, if the people can be made to feel that their forefathers fought and won battles with true martial spirit and ardour, defending the honour of their homes and their country with the blood of their brave hearts, then it may be hoped that the martial spirit is not dead amongst the people but only dormant, and may be revived if suitable facilities and opportunities are afforded. This aspect of the case has not escaped the attention of the authorities in Mysore, and members of the Mythic Society will no doubt be pleased to learn that a committee has been recently appointed by His Highness' Government to arrange for the preparation of suitable text-books on the subject for all classes of schools and colleges. These books will describe the annals of Mysore heroes in such a way as to revive the martial spirit in the

country. What better illustration than this could be given of the fact that historical studies are not mere empty rattlings of the dry bones of a dead past, but are of real and living importance in connection with the present circumstance and the future progress of mankind ?

That the Mythic Society serves a very useful purpose is abundantly shewn by its large membership. In fact, when we talk of a Society devoted to research in history, archæology, philology and similar subjects, we expect to find in that society membership of a quite different kind. We expect to find in one corner some old history professor buried amongst his books, in another corner we look for some lean half-starved archæologist feverishly bending over his newly discovered fragment or inscription, in another obscure nook we expect to meet some absent-minded philologist turning over the pages of his worm-eaten manuscripts, his brow wrinkled by the strife of conflicting theories. Of course, we have deep scholars and specialists amongst our members. But what do we find as regards the great majority ? A number of young, gay and cheerful gentlemen engaged in various pursuits of the world and coming here occasionally to regale and refresh themselves with literary stimulant. This is no disparagement to our Society, but this is exactly as it should be. Many of you may have read Mr. Asquith's recent book. In this book he states how most of his life has been spent in the law courts and in the House of Commons—two places most full of conflict, strife and discord. He tells us how, under these circumstances, in brief intervals of respite from work, he appreciated and valued the soothing and cleansing influences of literature and scholarship. There are no Asquiths here in point of statesmanship or eminence ; but in the matter of strife and conflict, of sorrows and trials and difficulties, I think there are many who may claim to be equal to or even to surpass Mr. Asquith himself. For them an association like this is simply invaluable. It is because our Mythic Society serves this dual purpose ; it is because, while serving to promote research, it also refreshes hard-worked officials and jaded business men with the soothing and cleansing influences of literature and scholarship, that this Mythic Society of ours is the great success that it has turned out to be.

And this scholarship, with which the Mythic Society is concerned, pertains chiefly to India, to our own dear motherland ; the country which is the fairest and most bountiful on the surface of the earth, and which holds on her breast the Hindu and the Muhammadan, the Christian, the Buddhist and all others with equal love and affection. It is the country which Max Muller has enthusiastically described as "a very paradise on earth." It is the country which, in the words of Professor Héeren, is the source from which "not only the rest of Asia but the whole Western world derived their

knowledge and their religion." Gentlemen, the best music is that which charms not only rational men but even wild brutes and beasts. The highest literature is that which charms not only the refined and the cultured, but the brutal and the most barbarous. It is the glory of Indian philosophy and literature that they have charmed and enthralled the whole world, though only a very small fraction of that philosophy and literature is as yet known to the world. Even the Hun, the mad wild beast of the modern world, has been charmed; for, was it not a great poet of the Huns that said that he was enraptured, feasted and fed by one name in Sanskrit literature and found heaven and earth themselves combined in it? Again, was it not a great philosopher of the Huns, who declared that a particular work of the Sanskrit philosophy was the solace of his life, and would also be the solace of his death? But this glorious literature and philosophy of India is as yet practically a sealed book to the outside world. In the interest of India herself and of the world at large, it is desirable that the seal should be broken, that the glorious pages of the book should be known as widely as possible. This is the great object which the Mythic Society in common, with numerous sister societies in all parts of the world, has in view. And if it can attain this object in the course of years even in a small measure, then the labours of those who have striven to bring it into existence will not have been in vain.

THE AGE OF KALIDASA

BY K. G. SANKARA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(Continued from the last issue.)

Nagarjuna and Vagbhata.—Kalidasa refers to the *Nagamudravidhi* in his *Malavikagnimitra* (ध्रुवसिद्धिर्विज्ञापयति उदकृन्मविधिना सर्पमुद्रिकाकल्पयितव्यादतन्विष्यताम्. VI). In his commentary, Appa Sastri quotes the *Rasa Ratnavali* (his.ed.,p.145) which says (नागार्जुन महाबाहो वदमे गुह्यमुत्तमं । उरगाणां महाघोरविषबाधापकर्षणं ॥ नागार्जुन उवाच ॥ श्रणुविप्र प्रवक्ष्यामि लोकानां हितकाम्यया । नागमुद्राविधानंतु रहस्यं परमं स्पुटं ॥ - - इति गुह्यं मयाविप्र तवस्नेहात्प्रकाशितं । विषदोषहरं नृणां किमन्यत्कथयामि ॥) that Nagarjuna, desiring the welfare of the world, revealed the secret of the *Nagamudravidhi* for the first time. Kalidasa who refers to the *Vidhi* cannot, therefore, have lived before 200 A.D. In commenting on *Megha*. 20, Mallinatha detects a *dhvani* from Vagbhata. Vagbhata refers to Charaka and Susruta by name, and quotes their very words (by name, e.g., in *Sangraha*, Bombay ed. I. 246, II. 421; quotes Charaka *ibid.*, I. 20, 93, II. 212-3; quotes Susruta *ibid.*, I. 109, 121, 177, 247, II. 303). Charaka was the court physician of Kanishka (acc. 78 A.D., *Smith*, p. 278; *Ind. Ant.* XXXII, p. 382.) Vagbhata refers to the Saka kings (beginning with Rudradaman 130 A.D.), as very fond of onions लघुनानन्तरं वायोः पलाण्डुः परमौषधम् । साक्षादिवस्थितं यत् शकाधिपतिर्जीवितम् ॥ यस्योपयोगेन शकाङ्गनानां लावण्यसारादिव निर्मितानाम् । कपोलकान्त्या विजितः शशाङ्को रसातलं गच्छति निर्विदेव) (*Ashtanga Sangraha*. Uttarasthana, Ch. 49.) Again, while Nagarjuna's treatment exhibits remarkable familiarity with skeleton-structure, Vagbhata's treatment of it is replete with inconsistencies and incongruities. So in Vagbhata's time, practical anatomy had fallen into disuse, i.e., Vagbhata came at least a century after Nagarjuna, and is, therefore, not earlier than 250 A.D. Dr. Hoernle argues from the fact that Itsing (*Records of the Buddhist Religion*, by Takakusu, p. 128) mentions an epitome lately made by a physician of 'the eight books' of medical science, which in his time had become the standard text-book throughout India, that it must be identical with Vagbhata's *Ashtanga Sangraha* and, therefore, was composed in 600-625 A.D. But Itsing enumerates the eight sections of Indian medical science in his own way, which does not agree with the sequence of the sections as we find it in any of the existing standard medical works. Thus, a Kalidasa who has a *dhvani* from Vagbhata dates after 300 A.D.

Astronomy.—In *Kum.* VII. 1. (with Mallinatha's Comm.) Kalidasa indicates knowledge of Greek astronomy, since *jamitra* is the corruption of the Greek word *diametron*; *lagnas*, since the *jamitra* is the seventh place from the *lagna*; *rasis* on which the *lagnas* are based; planets and astrology in which alone the word *jamitra* is used, and its purity is determined. He refers to the planet Mars and its motion, regular as well as retrograde, and *rasis* in यावदङ्गारको राशिमिवानुवक्त्रं प्रतिगमनं न करोति (*Mal.* III). He shows knowledge of astrology, astrologers, the full list of planets, good and evil; their conjunction with *nakshatras*, and the oppression of stars by evil planets in दैवचिन्तकैर्विज्ञापितो राजा 'सोपसर्गो वो नक्षत्रं' (*Mal.* IV.), with Appa Sastri's explanation सोपसर्गम् पापग्रहादिभिराक्रान्तम्. *Vik.* (IV. 4) refers to Mars. *Raghu* (I. 47) with Mallinatha's commentary refers to Mercury. In *Raghu* II. 25, the grouping of seven days into a week is indicated. *Raghu* III. 13, with Mallinatha's commentary, indicates clearly that Kalidasa knew the full list of planets, the *rasis* in which they are severally ascendant and the astrological idea that five planets in the ascendant, and not set, indicates an exceptionally great and fortunate life, for which reason, therefore, this very position of the planets is given in the horoscopes, necessarily fictitious, of all great men, e.g., Rama (*Ram* I. 18. 8-9), Sankara निजतुङ्गसंस्थे । सूर्ये कुजे रविसुतेच गुरौच केन्द्रे. *Sankaravijaya*), and Sambandha (Sekkilar's *Tiru--gnana-sambandha-murti-nayanar-Puranam.* 22). In *Raghu* VI. 22, Kalidasa refers to planets. In *Raghu* XIII. 76, he refers to Mercury and Jupiter, and their conjunction with the moon. In *Raghu* VII. 56, he refers to Kalpa. Thus, Kalidasa knew the full list of planets, *rasis*, *lagnas*, Greek astronomy and astrology, week-days, and *kalpas*. Knowledge of week-days in itself implies knowledge of astrology, since week-days are an artificial arrangement of days for purely civil and astrological purposes. The planets in the descending order of their distances from the earth are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon. The day is divided into twenty-four hours, and each planet in turn is regarded as the lord of succeeding hours, and each day is called after the lord of its first hour. Thus, we get the order of week-days from Saturday to Friday. But since, according to Brahmagupta's school of Indian astronomy, the first day of the present Kalpa was a Sunday, it was made the first day and called Adivara (first day), and Adityavara (Sunday). Kautilya (300 B.C.) in his *Arthasastra* (pp. 108, 109), gives the list of the various divisions of time in use in his day, and intended it to be exhaustive. He says fifteen muhurtas make a day or night; (*omitting the week*), fifteen days and nights make a paksha; two pakshas make a month; (then mentioning the different lengths of days in different months; the two different pakshas; the different kinds of months civil, solar, lunar, sidereal, and intercalary); two months make a season; (then mentioning the different

seasons); the two *ayan*as which make a year, the five year *yuga*; (omitting the modern conception of vast cycles of time *kalpas*, *manvantaras*, and *yugas*), and the additional month. Kautilya could not have omitted the week for the reason that two weeks do not exactly equal a *paksha*, for then he should have omitted the *paksha* also, two of which do not exactly equal a month. This is confirmed by the fact that elsewhere he mentions a grouping of five days. ('Such divisions of time as days, five days, *pakshas*, months, four months and year,' p. 64; 'once in a day or once in five nights,' p. 147.) So he knew only weeks of five and not of seven days, and was not aware of the modern conception of *yugas* and *manvantaras*. To him a *yuga* meant a cycle of five years and nothing more. He says (p. 116), 'A forecast of such rainfall can be made by observing the position, motion and pregnancy of Jupiter; the rise, set and motion of Venus; and the natural or unnatural aspect of the sun.' He did not know the other planets, for then he would have made use of their positions and motions also to forecast the rainfall. So when he says, 'On all days but those of conjunction' (p. 247), 'Sun and other planets of the sky' (p. 420), we must take him to refer only to the Sun, Venus and Jupiter. It is also inconceivable that he would have made no mention of the *rasis* in his encyclopædic work, if he had known them. He would at least have named the Solar months after them. The Buddhist scriptures of Asoka's time (250 B.C.) still regulate their time only by *nakshatras*. The following is the translation of the inscription on the Manikiala stone. (J.R.A.S. 1914, pp. 646-7.) 'In the year eighteen Lalana, the president of the people, the aggrandiser of the Kushana race of Kanishka, *who is* the great king of the realm *Puru-aspa*, establishes in the market-place of the Satrap *Vespasi*, who is fond of hours, (*hora*), *i.e.*, *muhurtas*, a *vihanti* for the clear announcement through ringing of the hours, *i.e.*, *muhurtas*.' '*Puru-aspa*' is evidently *Purushapura* (Peshawar), the capital of Kanishka, who is referred to as the living ruler. So 18 is in the era of his accession is $78 + 18 = 96$ A.D. This inscription expressly declares that an instrument for ringing out the hours was established in the market-place to please the methodical foreign Satrap *Vespasi*, 'who is fond of hours,' and because the Indians were not acquainted with 'hours,' the word is explained as '*muhurta*' the nearest equivalent division of time which was in use among the people. (One *muhurta* = $4/5$ hour.) The explanation is also repeated once more to impress it on the people's memory. This inscription, therefore, makes it clear that down to 96 A.D., the Hindus did not know *horas*, and so could not have known the week days based on the division of the day into hours. Garga (later than 130 A.D.) was the first to obtain knowledge of the march of time (perhaps of the hours), the aberrations of planets (*i.e.*, of their full list, rates of motion

and aberrations), and good and evil omens (*i.e.*, astrology based on *rasis* and week-days), and since he refers to the Yavanas as great astronomers, he probably refers to the Yavanacharya, who translated his work on 'Horoscopy,' from Greek in the year ninety-one (apparently of the Saka era of the astronomers= 169 A.D.).—(Mr. H. P. Sastri). If so, Garga dates after 170 A.D. and, since the week days are based on the full list of planets which Garga was the first to know in India, the introduction of week days into India dates after 170 A.D. The Sarnath inscription in the fortieth year of king Asvaghosha, in the first fortnight of the Hemanta season, on the tenth day, on the fourth tithi in the year two hundred and nine (=151 A.D., since the fourth tithi of the bright half of Margasira in Malva era 209 current coincides with the tenth day of the first fortnight of Hemanta in Saka 74 current *J.R.A.S.* 1912, p. 702), proves clearly the use of the solar day and *rasis* on which it is based in 150 A.D. Aryadeva (150-200 A.D.) mentions *rasi* and *varaka* in his poem published in *J.A.S.B.* 1898. (*J.A.O.S.* XXXI, p. 2. n.) So the introduction of week days into India dates between 170 and 200 A.D. The *Vaikhanasa utra* mentions *Budhavarā* (Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262), and the *Manu-Smṛiti* (250 A.D.) mentions *Vaikhanasamata* (VI. 21). Kulluka Bhatta explains it as the opinion of *Vikhanas* expressed in his *Sūtra* which expounds the complete rules of life of hermits. (वैखानसं मतं विखनसप्रोक्तं सुखं वैखानसं तद्वहि वानप्रस्थस्य धर्मस्य पूर्णं उपदेशः.) Srinivasa, in commenting upon वैखानसपरिनिष्ठिताः in *Sakuntala*, says that hermits are called 'Vaikhanasas,' because only the *Vaikhanasa Sūtra* was prescribed for them. (वैखानससुखं एव वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्योक्तत्वात् तदाश्रमवर्तिनां वैखानसव्यपदेश इति भावः)—M. Seshagiri Sastri's *Report on the search for Sanskrit and Tamil*, MSS. II, p. 8). Kalidasa refers to *Vaikhanasa* girls (*Raghu* XIV. 28), *Vaikhanasa* who speaks to Dushyanta (*Sak.* I.), and *Vaikhanasavrata* (*Sak.* I. 23). So Kalidasa, too, must have known week days. The *Manu-Smṛiti* (250 A.D.) refers to *rasis* ('the sun in the sign of Kanya' IV. 69), and mentions in detail the periods of the *yugas* and *manvantaras*; one year of mortals=a day and night of the gods; *Kṛitayuga*=4,800 years of the gods; *Treta*=3,600 years of the gods; *Dvapara*=2,400 years of the gods; *Kali*=1,200 years of the gods; 12,000 divine years=the age of the gods; I. 67-71). The age of the gods is astronomically the least common multiple of the periods of revolution of the seven planets, and so the *Manu-Smṛiti* must have known the full list of the planets, and their rotatory periods. So Garga who first learned them, lived between 170 and 250 A.D. This conclusion is supported by epigraphical evidence also. Asoka's rock-edicts 4 and 5 mention 'Kalpa' and 'Samvarta Kalpa,' but the conception is indefinite, and does not indicate the knowledge of the astronomical basis of *yugas* and *manvantaras* referred to above. The

same remark applies to the mention of 'the end of the Yugas' in Rudradaman's Junagadh inscription (150 A.D.).—(*Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 42). The Tanjore plates of W. Ganga Harivarman (249 A.D.) mentions 'Bhriguvara' (Friday), and 'Vrishabhalagna.' The Tagaduru plates of the same king (268 A.D.) mentions 'Guruvara.' The Mudiyanur plates of the Bana king Srivadhuvallabha Malladeva Nandivarman (340 A.D.) mentions 'Somavara.' The Harihar plates of W. Ganga Vishnugopa (352 A.D.) mentions 'Adivara.' The Merkara plates of W. Ganga Avinita (468 A.D.) mentions 'Somavara'. These inscriptions have been proved by Dr. Venkatasubbiah to be astronomically regular. (*Some Saka dates in Inscriptions*, pp.117, 118, 140, 142, and 143.) Dr. Fleet, no doubt, says they are spurious, but in thus pronouncing them to be spurious, he must have been primarily moved thereto by the supposed 'irregularity' of the dates cited therein. Then the Eran pillar inscription of Buddhagupta (484 A.D.) mentions 'Sura-guror-divase' (शतेपंचषष्टियधिके वर्षीणां भूपतौ च बुधयुगे आशाढमास शुक्ल द्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे, *G.I.*, p. 89). Thus from his astronomical knowledge, Kalidasa did not live before 200 A.D. Some say that, in *Raghu* XIV. 40, Kalidasa explains the true nature of eclipses, and since Aryabhatta was the first to explain it, Kalidasa belongs to the sixth century A.D. But Mallinatha explains 'chhaya' as 'pratibimba', i.e., 'reflection' and not as 'shadow.' The word is used in the same sense in *Sak* VII. 32 (*vide* Abhirama's commentary thereon). So the passage only means, 'By the people the reflection of the earth in the moon, as in a mirror, is attributed to the unblemished moon as its blot.' There is no reference whatever in this to the true nature of eclipses. The poet explained the cause of the permanent blot, while the eclipses due to the earth's shadow would account only for its temporary obscuration. Confirming this interpretation, Hemadri quotes शशमेके मृगतन्त्रे भूच्छायमपरे विदुः । इन्दोर्मण्डलमालिन्यं तमः स्पर्शमलंपरे ॥ उक्तं च ॥ अङ्केकेपि शशङ्किरे जलनिषेः पङ्केपरे मेनिरे सांरगं कतिचिच्चसंजगदिरे भूमेश्च विवंपरे । इन्दोर्ध्वलितेन्द्रनीलशकलश्यामं दरीदृश्यते तन्मध्ये परिपीतमधतमसंकुक्षिस्थमालोक्यते ॥. That Kalidasa was, indeed, unaware of the true nature of eclipses is seen from his invariable attribution of the lunar eclipse to the moon's being swallowed up by Rahu. (*Mal.* IV. 16; *Sak.* VII. 22; *Raghu* II. 39. XII. 28.) This is the theory of eclipses found in the *Manu-Smriti* also ('nor when the dragon's head causes an eclipse,' *Manu* IV. 110). Thus Kalidasa lived before 500 A.D., when Aryabhatta first explained it (षष्ठ्यब्दानां षष्ठ्यैवाव्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः । त्र्यधिकाविंशतिरब्दास्तदेह ममजन्मनोतीताः i.e., Aryabhatta wrote in Kali 3600 = 499 A.D.)

Asvaghosha.—In *Raghu* VII. 5-17 and *Kum.* VII. 56-70, the ladies of the city crowd to their windows to see Aja and Siva pass by to their marriage. There is a striking parallel to these episodes in Asvaghosha's

Buddhacharita III. 13-24, where the young prince makes his first entry into his father's capital, that expedition during the course of which he is to make his first acquaintance with old age as the inevitable shadow which dogs the steps of youth. Kalidasa's finished picture was, no doubt, suggested by the rough but vigorous outlines in Asvaghosha. In Kalidasa, the description only belongs to an episode in the main poem. In Asvaghosha, it is a natural incident in one of the most important chapters of the whole work. Kalidasa merely brings in a few characteristic details, as he is hurrying on to the marriage. Asvaghosha dwells in a more leisurely way on the various attitudes and gestures of the women, in order to bring out in bolder relief the central figure of the hero. One verse certainly in Asvaghosha seems to have been directly taken and amplified by Kalidasa. Asvaghosha says, 'The lotus faces of the women gleamed, while they looked out from the windows with their ear-rings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon the houses.' (वातायनेभ्यस्तु विनिःसृतानि परस्पररोपासितकुण्डलानि । स्त्रीणां विरेजुर्मुखपंकजानि सक्तानि हर्म्येष्विव पंकजानि III. 19.) Kalidasa develops this crude sketch into a finished picture, 'The lattices, whose apertures were crowded with the intensely curious faces of women, perfumed with wine, with their bee-like eyes fluttering restlessly, seemed as if they were adorned with 'lotuses.' (*Raghu* VII. 11, and *Kum.* VII. 62.) If Asvaghosha was the later author, he would not have substituted for Kalidasa's beauteous imagery, his crude and undeveloped ideas, while it is conceivable that Kalidasa developed Asvaghosha's ideas and polished his language. The style, too, of Asvaghosha is simpler and more natural than Kalidasa's, and hence belongs to an earlier age. This idea of the lattices being adorned with the lotus faces of curious women is met with again in *Raghu* XI. 93, in connection with the entry into Ayodhya of Rama with his newly married bride Sita. Again in *Buddhacharita* XIII, we have the description of Buddha's temptation by Mara and his three daughters, and as Mara is distinctly identified with Kama, we are reminded of the similar scene in *Kum.*, where Kama discharges his arrow against Siva. (Cf. *Buddha* XIII. 8. अथ प्रशान्तं मुनिमासनस्थं पारितीर्षुं भवसागरस्य । विषज्य सव्यं करमायुधाग्रे क्रीडञ्चरेणेदमुवाचमारः with *Kum.* III. 64.) It is possible to point out other borrowings by Kalidasa from Asvaghosha. (Cf. *Buddha* I. 13 धर्मार्थकामा विषयं मिथोन्यं न वेशमाचक्रमुत्सयनीत्या with *Raghu* XVII. 57; *Buddha* I. 52, तस्मात्प्रमाणं नवयो न कालः कश्चित्कचिच्छैष्ठ्यमुपैति लोके । राज्ञामृषीनां च हितानि तानि कृतानि पूर्वैरकृतानि पुनैः with *Raghu* XI. 1.) It cannot be argued that a Mahakavi like Kalidasa would not borrow from another of less renown without acknowledgment. That Asvaghosha was also a great poet is seen from his *Buddhacharita*, *Saundarananda*, *Sutralamkara*, etc. In ancient times there was no law of copyright. Anyone might borrow freely from others, provided that he issued forth those ideas instinct with the stamp of

his own genius. Originality in poetry was not then deemed to consist in absolute invention, but in giving a new turn of suggestion to old familiar ideas. This was the principle on which the Greek tragedians, the Indian poets, and even Shakespeare acted. Epithets, phrases and even descriptions were common property to a whole age, as may be seen from the ancient epics and the Tamil Sangam works. We should demand of a Mahakavi not that he should not borrow a single idea from others, but that he should invest it with a new significance, and no one will deny that whatever Kalidasa has borrowed, he has also bettered in phrasing and imagery. The practice of giving references by name is quite modern, the result of the scientific spirit of our age; and we should not expect our ancient poets to acknowledge the sources whenever they borrow from others. If Kalidasa mentions Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra in the *Mal.* prologue, it is to justify the introduction of his play when dramatists of such acknowledged reputation are already in possession of the stage. Asvaghosha was the spiritual adviser of Kanishka (*Nanjio* 1340, Vol. V; 1329, Vol. VII) of whom he speaks in his *Sutralamkara*. Taranatha speaks of Asvaghosha as a patriarch 'under Kanishka. Paramartha (499-569 A.D.) says Asvaghosha was invited to the Buddhist council of Kanishka held in Kashmir under the presidency of Vasumitra in 100 A.D. (*Smith*, pp. 268-69), 'because he was well-versed in *Vyakarna*, the four Vedas, the six Vedangas and Tripitakas of all the eighteen schools, and because he was the laureate of literature, the treasury of learning and the home, of every virtue.' (*Takakusu's Trans*, p. 12.) These terms indicate that he was a great poet. His *Buddhacharita* was translated into Chinese in 420 A.D. Thus Kalidasa is not earlier than 150 A.D.

Lalitavistara.—In *Raghu* XII. 21, we have that remarkable trace of Buddhism in the description of Rama's journey with Sita in the forest. 'He every now and then fell asleep from fatigue on Sita's lap, resting under a tree, whose shadow was motionless through his divine power.' This well known miracle does not occur in Valmiki's *Ramayana*, or Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*, but only in the *Lalitavistara* in connection with Buddha's childhood. (साच वृक्षाणां तस्मिन् समये छाया परिवृत्ताभूत्... जंबुच्छाया च बोधिसत्वस्य कायं न विजहातिस्म... यस्य वृक्षस्य छायायां निषण्णो वरलक्षणः । सैनं न जहते छायां ध्यायन्तं पुरुषोत्तमम्.—*Lalita* XI, p. 150, Bibl. Ind. Ed.) The *Lalitavistara* was composed after the time of Kanishka's council (100 A.D.), and was translated into Chinese in 308 A.D. (*Nanjio* No. 159.) It is, therefore, not earlier than 150 A.D., and Kalidasa must have lived after 200 A.D.

Bhasa.—The learned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series claims Bhasa as the author of thirteen dramas published in that Series, and he has sufficiently established their authenticity. Bana, referring to Bhasa, says he

was the famous author of dramas begun directly by the stage manager and having many prologues. (सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैः नाटकैः बहुभूमिकैः । सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव.— *Harshacharita*. Introd. sloka 15.) In conformity with this, these dramas instead of opening with *Nandi* followed by 'नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः' begin with नान्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः' followed by the Mangala sloka. They use *Sthapana* in place of *Prastavana*. There is in them no mention of the name of the poet and the work with due praise in the prologue as in other dramas. The *Bharata* vakya in these invariably closes with the prayer, 'May our lion of kings rule the land,' and with the words 'such and such *Nataka* is finished.' Besides exhibiting these structural resemblances, they have many passages in common (e.g., एवमार्यामिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि । अये किन्नखलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रयते । अङ्गपश्यामि; इमां सागरपर्यतां हिमवद्विन्ध्यकुण्डलां महीमेकातपत्राङ्कां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तु नः ॥; or भवन्वरजसो गावः परचक्रं प्रशाम्यतु । इमामपि महर्षिं कृत्स्नां राजसिंहः प्रशास्तुनः ॥ as the *Bharata* vakya; the practice of suggesting names of the principal *dramatis personæ* in the Mangala sloka; the common slokas in *Charudatta* I. 19, and *Balacharita* I. 15; in *Svapna* VI. 4, and *Abhisheka* IV. 7; in *Pratigna* II. 7, and *Abhisheka* VI. 23). So they are all by the same author. In one MS. the *Svapnanataka* is called *Svapna-Vasavadatta*, the name of a work attributed to Bhasa. (भासनाटकचक्रेपिच्छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् । स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोभूत् पावकः *Suktimuktavali*.) Vamana (850 A.D.) quotes from these dramas (*Svapna* IV. 7 in *Kavyalan-kara-sutra-vritti* IV. 3; *Pratigna* IV. 3 in *Kavya* V. 2; *Charudatta* I. 2 in *Kavya* V. I). Still earlier in date *Charu* I. 19 and *Balacharita* I. 15 are quoted by Dandin (650-700 A.D.) (*Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 237) in *Kavyadarsa* III (226-234). Bhamaha, in illustration of 'Nyayavirodha' (*Kavyalankara* IV. 40-8. Appendix to *Pratapa-rudra-yasobhushana*. Bomb. Skt. Ser.) reviews and criticises the entire theme of the *Pratignunatika* quoting अनेन मम भ्राता हतः, अनेन ममापिता, अनेन मम सुतः (*Pratigna*. p. 13) and Bhamaha preceded Kalidasa. These dramas, with their felicity of diction, grace and elegance of thought, observation of nature, dramatic skill and keen insight into the workings of the human heart, are well worthy of a great poet. Vandyaghatiya Sarva-nanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Amara-kosa-tika-sarvasva* in commenting on शृङ्गारवीर करुण says (स्वदिशमात्मसात्कर्तुम् उदयनस्य पद्मावती परिणयोर्यशृङ्गारः स्वप्नवासनदत्ते तृतीयस्तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः काम शृङ्गारः), i.e., that in *Svapnavasavadatta* there is both marriage for love and marriage for fortune, since Udayana marries Pad-mavati to regain his kingdom, and Vasavadatta from love. This description applies truly to our *Svapnavasavadatta*. The title eminently fits it, since the play is based on the dream of Udayana in which he sees Vasavadatta, the true heroine of the play. Thus the authenticity of these dramas is well established.

In the prologue to the *Malavikagnimitra*, when the attendant actor asks the stage manager how honour could be paid to a work of the living dramatist Kalidasa superseding the works of the far-famed Bhasa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra, the stage manager replies that not everything old is good, nor is a literary work to be avoided merely because it is new. It has been argued from this that Bhasa must have lived long before Kalidasa, chiefly because of the use of the words प्रथितयज्ञस, i.e., 'far-famed' and पुराण, i.e., 'old.' But a poet may well have become far-famed in his own generation and पुराण is used only in opposition to नव, i.e., 'new.' The context shows that नव is applied to the work of a living author (वर्तमानकवि). So पुराण here applies to the works of all authors who were not living. And प्रथितयज्ञस is used only in opposition to वर्तमान, i.e., 'living' and means 'far-famed' not 'long-famed' (प्रथित - विस्तारणे). On the other hand, the word अतिक्रम्य, i.e., 'transgressing' or 'superseding' indicates that Kalidasa could not have come long after Bhasa, for one can be said to supersede only the works in present possession of the field, not the classics which for long have been consigned to oblivion on the shelves. We do not hear anything in later literary or rhetorical works about the dramas of Saumilla and Kaviputra, who are said to have been far-famed in Kalidasa's time. This would be explicable only if they were poets famous only in their own generation. Besides, the Prakrit of Bhasa resembles that of Kalidasa very closely. Kalidasa, therefore, came within a hundred years of Bhasa. He imitates Bhasa more closely and extensively than he imitates any other author. [Cf. *Abhisheka* III. 1 with *Sak* IV. 9; *Balacharita* I. 13 with *Sak* I. last sloka; *Svapna* I. 12 with *Sak* I. 13; the incident of meeting the ascetics in the hermitage described in both *Svapna* I, and *Sak* I; भवतु भवतु । आये! विश्वसिहि । अनेन बहुमानवचनेनानुगृहीतास्मि *Svapna*, p. 6 with भवतु । भवतानां सूनुतयैव गिरा कृतमा तिथ्यम्. *Sak* I. *Svapna* I. 5 with *Sak*. II. 7 पद्मावती -आये! किमिदानीं मामपहसितुमिव अपेहि मेदानीं मामपहस *Svapna*, p. 19 with प्रियंवदा (सस्मितम्) अनसूये जानासि किं शकुन्तला... एषनूनं तवान्तर्गतो मनोरथः । *Sak* I; the imaginary herbs *Avidhava-karana* and *Sapatni-mardana* of *Svapna*, p. 27 with the amulet *Aparkiita* of *Sak* VII; the heightening of Vatsaraja's love for Vasavadatta by recovery first of the lost vina and then of Vasavadatta's picture in *Svapna* VI. 3 and 13 with the similar incident by recovery of the lost ring and Sakuntala's picture by Dushyanta in *Sak* VI; *Svapna* VI. 1 and 2 with *Sak* VI. 11 and 13; सर्वशोमनीयं सुरूपं नाम *Pratima*, p. 7 with *Sak* I. 17; *Pratima* V. 3 with *Sak* I. 16; अपितपो वर्धते *Pratima*, p. 75 and *Sak* I; *Pratima* V. 11. with *Sak* IV. 9, 12 and 14; अपयुपलभ्यतेस्य सप्तपर्णस्य ... मृगभूथमासीत् *Pratima*, p. 107 with तत्क्षणं तु सममकृतकपुत्रो..... स्ताभ्याश्चहमुपगतः *Sak* V; the curse of Chandabhargava and the meeting of the lovers at Narada's door in *Avimaraka* with Durvasa's curse and reunion at

Marichi's hermitage in *Sak* ; *Swapna* I. 4 with *Megha* 114; *Pratima* VII. 4 with *Raghu* XIII. 64]. Moreover, in his *Raghu* Kalidasa in connection with the genealogy of the solar race follows Bhasa and not Valmiki, since he makes Dilipa, Raghu, Aja, Dasaratha and Rama each succeed the one who immediately precedes him.

Mr. Ganapati Sastri places Bhasa before the seventh century B.C., relying chiefly on Bhasa's violation of Panini's rules and on the common *sloka* in *Kautilya* and *Pratignanatika*. But Kalidasa who admittedly lived long after Panini, likewise violates Panini's rules (e.g., नूपुरसिञ्जितानि *Kum* I. 34 and *Vik* IV. 14; प्रत्ययादाश्चसत्यः कतिपयदिस्थायिहंसाः, दृष्टभक्तिः, त्वमसिभविता, भीषयेस्ताः. शिञ्जद्वलयसुभगैः *Megha* 8, 23, 38, 51, 63 and 87 ; विस्माययन्, मरुत्सखस्येव बलाहकस्य, पातयां प्रथममास, दृढभक्तिः, प्रभ्रंशंयां योनहुपंचकार, संयोजयां विधिवदास *Ragh* II. 33, V. 27, IX. 61, XII. 19, XIII. 36, XVI. 86). Sanskrit, moreover, was never a dead language. It was always spoken by the learned even as to-day, and most of the north Indian languages stand to it only in the relation of dialects. So the deviations from Panini might be due as well to the growth of the language after Panini's time as to the non-existence of Panini's grammar in the time of Bhasa. Panini did not invent his grammar. He only reduced the spoken words of his time to a grammatical system, by evolving rules and exceptions to suit them. Besides, a dramatist, in conforming to popular language appropriate to the *dramatis personæ* of his plays, would naturally be forced to violate rules of grammar. Again, *Kautilya* (pp. 365-6) indicates how the priest should, on the eve of a battle, inspire the soldiers with enthusiasm by telling them, ' It is declared in the Vedas that the goal which is reached by sacrifices after the performing of the final ablutions in sacrifices for which the priests have been duly paid, is the very goal which brave men are destined to attain. In this connection there are also two slokas: (1) Beyond those places which Brahmans, desirous of getting into heaven, attain together with the sacrificial instruments, by performing a number of sacrifices, or by practising penances, are the places which brave men losing their lives in good battles, are destined to attain immediately. (2) Let not a new vessel filled with water, consecrated and covered over with darbha grass, be the acquisition of that man who does not fight in return for the subsistence received by him from his master and who is, therefore, destined to go to hell. Mr. Ganapati Sastri argues that the latter *sloka* is found in the *Pratignanatika* (IV. 3), there also intended to stimulate the soldiers to fight, that a minister's address in such situation must be backed by authority, that the first quotation being from the *Sruti* (Revelation), the second must be from its *यान्* and *तान्* relating to something that has already been said, be from the *Smriti* (sacred law), that, therefore, the third must be from literature, especially as the two slokas are prefaced by the words,

' Here are two slokas, ' which he never does in the case of his own slokas, and that poets, if they quote from others, would clearly indicate the fact. The last argument we have already dealt with in another connection. We might with equal cogency argue that the speaker in the *Pratignanatika* quotes Kautilya's words to back his appeal to the soldiers with authority. It is conceivable that Kautilya himself supplies the two slokas for ministers to use them in such situations as authority. The first sloka is, no doubt, found in the *Para-sara-Smriti* (III 38), but since the Smriti refers to manvantaras and the four yugas: Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali (I. 2, 16, 20, 22), the eighteen Smritis, including the *Manu-Smriti* which it also quotes (I. 12-5, IV. 18, VI. 1), the Sankranti, i.e., the passage of the sun through a zodiacal sign (XII. 22), and the swallowing of the sun by Rahu (XII. 27), it cannot be dated earlier than 300 A.D., and, consequently, could not have been the source from which Kautilya borrowed his sloka. Moreover यन् and तन् need not necessarily indicate a quotation, since they, going with each other, may refer to some well known fact, e.g., in this case the heaven to attain which the Brahmans sacrifice and sacrificing must attain. It is, besides, not correct to say that Kautilya never uses the words, ' Here are two slokas ' in prefacing his own slokas. On pp. 278 and 289, he prefates slokas obviously his own by the words तन्न एतत् भवति, i.e., ' in that connection there is this, ' which means the same as ' Here are two slokas ' तन्न-इह, and there being many slokas एतत् pointing to the slokas which follow is used in place of श्लोकौ, and, consequently, भवति is used for भवतः. Excepting these slokas, it is admitted that all the other slokas are his own. He never quotes slokas from others. He merely summarises their views in his own words. So these also must be his. If he were quoting them from another, he would have mentioned it as he mentions, e.g., Manu, Brihaspati, Acharyah, Vatavyadhi, Bharadvaja, Visalaksha, etc., when he quotes their views, while poets rarely acknowledge their borrowings. Bhasa refers to Rajagriha, the ancient capital of Magadha and Darsaka its king (*Svapna* I. 2, and p. 4), to Pataliputra (*Charudatta*, p. 39), to Udayana, the king of the Vatsas, the hero of the *Pratigna* and *Svapna*, and the husband of Vasavadatta, daughter of Pradyota Mahasena of Ujjain, and of Padmavati, sister of Darsaka (*Svapna* 20, 21, 27 and 65) and to Sakya Sramanakas (*Charudatta*, p. 56). Hiuen Tshang (629-645 A.D.) says that king Bimbisara built Rajagriha owing to the ancient capital Kusagrapura having been constantly afflicted by disastrous fires (*Watters* II, p. 162). The *maha-parinirvana sutra* (375 B.B.J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 670) says that in the course of his last journey Buddha found Ajatasatru's ministers planning to convert the village Pataligrama into a regular city Pataliputra in order to ward off the Vajjis (J.R.A.S. 1906, pp. 667-8), and Buddha died in 483 B.C. (J.R.A.S. 1909, pp. 1-34). Patali-

putra was, however, actually built only in Udayin's fourth year (*Pargiter*, p. 22), *i.e.*, in 483— $(25+24++8)=438$ B.C. at the earliest, since Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajatasatru (*Smith*, p. 36) who ruled for twenty-five years, and Darsaka ruled for twenty-four years, at the least (*Pargiter*, p. 69). So Bhasa who refers to the city Pataliputra, is not earlier than 438 B.C. Udayana of Kausambi, the Vatsaraja, was Buddha's younger contemporary (*Suttanipata*. J.R.A.S. 1916, p. 727). Darsaka of Magadha was Ajatasatru's successor, and Sakya Sramanakas refers to Buddhist ascetics, since 'Sakya' is prefixed to distinguish them from other ascetics. These facts conclusively disprove Mr. Ganapati Sastri's theory.

We will now determine the date of Bhasa. Patanjali (150 B.C.) who mentions in his *Mahabhashya* the plays *Kamsavadha* and *Balibandha* (III. 1. 26), and the Akhyayika *Vasavadatta* (IV. 3-87) omits to mention any of Bhasa's plays. In the *Dutarakya* (p. 42) Bhasa refers to the Visvarupadarsana in the "Udyoga Parva," which is itself an imitation of the Visvarupadarsana in the *Gita*, since in the former it is purposeless and fails to make any impression, while in the *Gita* it is necessary to emphasise the teaching. The *Gita* refers to the *Brahma Sutras* in XIII. 4. The first line refers to the *Upanishads* with their various authorship and inconsistent treatment. The second line refers to *Badarayana Sutras* which, with its closely reasoned and unmistakeable tone, presents a contrast to the *Upanishads*. And the *Brahmasutras* (II. 2) refute Buddha, Jaina, and Pancharatra systems. Moreover, the *Gita* identifies Krishna with the Pancharatra God 'Bhagavan,' but nowhere indicates that he was an incarnation of Vishnu. In *Gita* ch.4, after verse 4, we have 'Sri Bhagavan spoke'. So Krishna, the teacher of Vedanta, is identified with 'Bhagavan.' Then in IV. 5, we have what Krishna says about his births, *i.e.*, that he has taken many births in the same way as Arjuna did, and not in the special sense of an incarnation, the number of which is limited for each *kalpa*, while he appears embodied whenever, and not merely ten times for each *kalpa*, right declines and unrighteousness increases (IV. 7). The only difference between his births and those of other men is that he knows them all, while they do not. He will take birth 'yuge yuge,' *i.e.*, in all ages, not merely once for every *yuga*, for that would contradict IV. 7, and does not in any case favour the popular theory which assigns five avatars, the fish, the boar, the man-lion, and the dwarf to Kritayuga, two avatars the Rama of the Axe and Rama, son of Dasaratha to the Treta, one avatara, Krishna to the Dvapara, and two avatars Buddha and Kalki to the Kali. And he is the God not only of the Hindus but of all people (IV. 11). Here was an opportunity for the *Gita* to declare Krishna to have been an incarnation of Vishnu, but it omits to do so. So the *Gita* considered Him as the *Bhagavan*, not

merely a god, or an incarnation of Vishnu. In identifying Himself with the best of every species, Krishna says He is Vishnu among the Adityas (X. 21), Sankara of the Rudras (X. 23), Rama (son of Dasaratha) of the bowmen (X. 31), and Vasudeva of the Vrishnis (*i.e.*, Yadavas, X. 37). This shows that Vishnu was regarded only as the foremost among the Adityas, as Sankara was the foremost among the Rudras, that they were all aspects of the one God, that Rama was considered to have been only a bowman, and that Krishna was not regarded as a special incarnation of Vishnu. The identification, therefore, of Vasudeva with Vishnu was not complete in the time of the *Gita*. This places its composition in 250—200 B.C. So Bhasa is not earlier than 150 B.C. That Bhasa knew the *Gita* is confirmed by the fact that in *Karnabhara* 12, he imitates *Gita* II. 37. A comparison of काष्ठं हिमश्च न लभते उताशं । भूमिं रवनं विनतति चापि तोयम् निर्बन्धिनः किञ्चन नास्त्यसार्धं । न्यायेन युक्तं च कृतं च सर्वं (*Buddhacharita* XIII) with *Pratigna* I. 18, shows that the simplicity, flow and directness of the former have been sacrificed for the sonorous heaviness in the latter by the mere substitution of the passive for the active tense. This indicates that Bhasa imitates Asvaghosha. The Prakrit also of Bhasa is of a later type than that of Asvaghosha (Sten Konow in *Ind. Ant.* 1914). Bhasa seems to imitate Manu's चक्रवर्ण्यरवर्तते दुःखानि च सुखानि च in *Svapna* I. 4, and he also directly mentions the *Manu-Smriti* with the *Veda*, the six *Vedangas*, the four *Upangas*, Mahesvara's *Yogasastra*, Brihaspati's *Arthasastra*, Medhatithi's *Nyayasastra* and Prachetas' *Sraddhakalpa* (*Pratima*, p. 79). Since Panini's grammar has always been considered to be the *Vedanga Vyakarana*, this directly contradicts Mr. Ganapati Sastri's theory. These references are not historical but contemporary, since they are put into the mouth of Ravana, the contemporary of Rama, while Panini mentions Vasudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), who, according to the Puranas, came thirty generations after Rama. Since Bhasa knows and Amara (300 A.D.) does not know the Rama incarnation, Bhasa is not earlier than 350 A.D. The *Mricchakatika* is a mere amplification of *Charudatta* with modifications. (Cf. *Charu.* I. 2 with *Mricch.* I. 9; किन्तु खलु अद्य ... यावत् प्रविशामि *Charu.*, p. 1, with चिरसंगीतोपासनेन ... तन्प्रविशामि *Mricch.* Parab. Ed., pp. 4-5; वीणानामासमुद्रोत्थितं रलं । कृतः *Charu.*, p. 49, and *Mricch.*, p. 69; कामं प्रशंसतु भवान् ... अतिविरूपो भवति *Charu.*, p. 50, with समतावत् द्वाभ्यामेव ... मेनशेचते *Mricch.*, p. 69). The *Mricch.* refers to Jupiter as the enemy of Mars (IX. 33). Varahamihira (died 587 A.D.) does not approve of this view held by some of his time. His view that Mars and Jupiter are friends, has prevailed since his time (जीवेन्द्राणकराः कुजस्य सुहृदः । सूर्यसौम्युसितावरारविस्तुतोमध्योपरेत्वन्यथा । जीवो जीवदूधौसितेन्दुतनयौ व्यकीविभौमाः क्रमात् । वीन्द्रकीविकजेन्द्रवश्चसुहृदः केषांचिदेवं मतं *Brihatjataka* II. 15-7). The corresponding portions of the *Charudatta* have been lost, and so

we cannot know if this sloka was in that drama. If it was, then, Bhasa must have lived before 550 A.D. If it was not, then, the *Mricchakatika* itself, in which the sloka would appear for the first time, must date before 550 A.D., and *Charudatta* must be still earlier. Bhasa refers to a kind of simple village dance called *Hallisaka* in his *Balacharita*, pp. 41-2. '*Damodara*: Perform this Hallisaka dance suited to our Ghosha life. *All*: It shall be done. *Samkarshna*: Damake! Meghanada! play on the musical instruments. *Both*: Yes, master. *Old Cowherd*: Master! you play the Hallisaka. But what am I to do here? *Damodara*: you will be the audience. *Old Cowherd*: Yes, master (they all dance). Ha! Ha! well sung! well played! fine dance! I too will dance. Ah! but I am tired? This Hallisaka dance is referred to by Vatsyayana also (हल्लासिकक्रीडनकौगविनैनटिय-रासकै: *Kamasutra* II. 10. 25). But in the time of the *Harivamsa*, 'Hallisaka' became synonymous with sexual enjoyment (*Ch.* 77, verses 4078—4098). The Gupta inscription 31, of Somanatha (533 A.D.) speaks of *Mahabharata* as शतसप्ताहसी, a total (of one lakh of verses) which it reaches even approximately only if we include the *Harivamsa*, which is called the Khila Parva of the *Mahabharata* (उक्तं च महाभारते शतसाहस्रं संहितायां ; *Maha.* I. 2. 83-4). So the *Harivamsa* existed in 500 A.D. Allowing at least a century for the Hallisaka dance to fall into such disuse or corruption as to be forgotten or misconstrued as to its nature, Bhasa is not later than 400 A.D. Thus the limits for Bhasa's date are 350 to 400 A.D. In the *Bharatavakya* of his dramas, Bhasa prays for the continuance of the king's rule in these terms:—राजा भूमिं प्रशास्तु वः (*Pratima*), राजा राजगुणोपेतो भुमिमैकः प्रशास्तु नः (*Kamabhara*) गां पातु नो नरपतिः शमितारिपक्षः (*Urubhanga*), इमामपि महीं कृत्स्नां राजासिंहः प्रशास्तु नः (*Abhisheka*, *Pancharatra*, *Pratigna*, and *Avimaraka*) इमांसागरपर्यन्ता हिमवद्भिन्ध्यकृण्डलां । महीमेका-तपत्राङ्क । राजासिंहः प्रशास्तु नः (*Dutavakya*, *Balacharita*, *Svapna*). The words राजा नरपतिः, and नृपतिसिंहः (*Kamalhara*. 3) clearly show that 'Rajasimha' is not a personal name or a title. Besides, the *Bharatavakya* should be generally applicable whenever and wherever the drama is played, so, as a rule, individual names and titles should not be, and generally are not, introduced. The only exceptions are the *Malavikagnimitra*, where the hero himself speaking the *Bharatavakya* continues the stage illusion of reality down to the very end, the *Mudrarakshasa* where a similar effect is produced and an added one of the manifestation of sincere loyalty from an erstwhile enemy of Chandragupta, thus indicating the complete success of Chanakya's schemes, and the *Mattavilasaprahasana* where the author, himself a king, naturally wishes his own rule to be prolonged to the limit of human possibilities. There being no such special circumstances or effects to be produced in these dramas, 'Rajasimha' does not refer to any individual king or his

title. If Bhasa had desired to refer to any particular king, he could have mentioned him in the prologue, or more explicitly in the *Bharatavākya* itself. But it is conceivable that, while making the *Bharatavākya* generally applicable, Bhasa, without obtruding it prominently, might have chosen his words in such manner as to suggest to us the attributes of his contemporary king. He invariably refers to the king of the Bharatavākya as 'our king.' The नः cannot be taken with माहि, because 'our kingdom' may be small, and yet 'we' might pray that 'our king' should be king not only of 'our kingdom' but of the whole earth. And the wish that 'our king' should be 'sole ruler' of Hindusthan, from Himalaya to Vindhya and from sea to sea, indicates that 'our king,' is not yet ruler of such dominions. For, if he was, the prayer would be 'may our king *who* is the sole ruler of the whole earth carefully guard us and be to us a Kalpaka tree,' because that would be the unambiguous way of giving him due praise. In 350 to 400 A.D. only Samudragupta fits this description, and he ruled from 330 to 375 A.D. (Smith, p. 327). He had not yet conquered Malva, Gujerat and Kathiawar, which his son Chandragupta II annexed shortly after 388 A.D. (when the last Saka coin was issued). (J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 987.) It is impossible to crowd within the fifteen years (from 375 A.D., the date of Chandragupta's accession, to 390 A.D. when he destroyed the Sakas) the thirteen dramas already discovered and others now lost of Bhasa. So Bhasa dates 350 A.D., and Kalidasa after 400 A.D.

The *Bharatanatyasastra*.—Patanjali in his *Mahabhashya* (III. 1. 26) mentions the killing of Kamsa and the binding of Bali on the stage. But the *Bharatanatyasastra* prohibits the enacting on the stage of a battle, death, etc. So the *Sastra* is later than Patanjali. (150 B.C.) It also requires that the dramatist should mention his name in his work (कवेनमि च कीर्तयेत् V. 154). All these rules Bhasa breaks (e.g., *Balacharita* enacts a battle, and *Abhisheka* a death on the stage, and more of his works mention the name of the author of the work), while Kalidasa obeys the rules implicitly. So Bharata came between Bhasa and Kalidasa, and lived in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. So Kalidasa cannot have lived before 400 A.D.

Bhamaha.—It appears from Pratiharenduraja's commentary on *Udbhatalankara-sara-sangraha*, Hemachandra's commentary on *Kavyanusasana*, and *Abhinavagupta*'s commentary *Lochana* on Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyaloka* that Bhatta Udbhata, the court Pandit of Jayapida of Kashmir (772 to 803 A.D. J.R.A.S. 1908, p. 787; भट्टोद्भट्ट इत्यस्य भूमिमर्तुः समापति *Rajatarangini* IV. 495) wrote a commentary *Bhamavivaraṇa* on Bhamaha's *Kalyalankara*. It has been argued that in शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा नृचासमस्तपद्याकं न कथंचिददाहेरताऽस्य ज्ञापकत्वेन वृत्तहन्ता यतोदितः (Bhamaha's *Kalyalankara* VI. 36-7), Bhamaha refers to

Jinendrabuddhi (eighth century A.D.) But there is no reference to, or justification of, the compound कृत्तहन्ता in *Jinendrabuddhi's Kasikavivarana-panchika*. Besides *Nyasakara* does not apply to Jinendra alone. There were many other *Nyasakaras*, e.g., Bana (600—650 A.D.) refers to one in कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः (*Harshacharita*, p. 86. commentary कृतः अभ्यस्तः गुरुपदे तुर्बोधशब्दे न्यासः वृत्तिः विवरणं यैः), and the *Madhaviya Dhatu Vritti* refers to *Kshemendranasya*, *Nyasodyota*, *Bodhinyasa*, *Vrittinyasa* and *Sakatayana Nyasa* (Mysore Ed. Introd. p. 17—20). *Srivatsankamisra* (tenth century A.D.) quotes *Vinitakirtinyasa* in his *Yamakaratanakara* I. Madhava, in treating of the use of the root साति, quotes the opinion of one Jinendra against that of *Bodhinyasa* (विन्यासोपि 'साति-स्सुखे वर्तते' इति । जिनेन्द्रहरदत्तौ तु 'सातिर्हेतुर्मण्यन्तः' इति ॥. 122). Since this opinion is not found in the *Kasikavivarana-panchika*, the Jinendra of Madhava must be different. There was another *Nyasakara* (fifth century A.D.). The title *Pujyapada* was given to him on account of his learning, his real name being Devanandi. He was called *Jinendrabuddhi* on account of his having seen the Jain light. He is said to have written a treatise on 'Surgery,' and other on 'Yoga,' a *Nyasa* on 'Panini,' and a grammar *Jinendravayakarana*. Bhamaha distinguishes *Katha* and *Akhyayika* (I. 29). Dandin criticises Bhamaha's points of distinction (तयोराल्प्यायिकाकिल *Kavyadarsa*, I. 23—8). Dandin in his स्वगुणाविवक्षिता दोषा नात्र भूतार्थसंशयः and साध्वेव in regard to the nature of the poetry of गतोस्तमर्कः (II. 244), seems to reply to Bhamaha's स्वगुणाविवृत्तिं कुर्यादभिजातः कर्मजनः (I. 29) and किं काव्यं in regard to गतोस्तमर्कः (II. 87). A half verse is common to Bhamaha and Dandin as an instance of a *Pratelika* (हिमापहामित्रधरैर्व्याप्ति व्योमामिनन्दति. *Bhamaha*, I. 41 and *Dandin*, III. 120), and *Sarngadhara* attributes it to Dandin. But he also attributes the sloka वितरति गुरुः प्राज्ञे (*Uttararama-charita* II. 4) to Kalidasa. (*Sarngadharapaddhati*, No. 414, pp. 61-2.) Dandin borrows from others without acknowledgment (e.g., लिम्पतीवतमोडगानि *Kavya* III. 226—234, from *Charu* I. 19, and *Balacharita* I. 15; लक्ष्मलक्ष्मीतनोति *Kavya* I. 45, from *Sak.* I. 17), while Bhamaha invariably acknowledges his quotations (e.g., *Ramasarma's Achyutottara* II. 19, 58; *Medhavi* II. 40, 88; *Rajamitra*, II. 45, III. 10; *Sakavardhana*, II. 47; *Ratrahara*, III. 8; *Nyasakara*, VI. 36). So Dandin must have been the borrower of this half-verse and of the other common verses अद्ययामम गोविन्दजाता त्वयि गृहागते । कालेनैषाथवेत्प्रीतिस्तस्तवैवागमनात् पुनः given as an instance of the figure *Preya* in both (*Bhamaha* III. 5, and *Dandin* II. 276), अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं संशयमपक्रमं । शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं मित्रवृत्तं विसन्धिञ्च (*Bhamaha*, IV. 1; *Dandin*, III. 125-6), and समुदायार्थं शून्यं यत्तदपार्थक्यमिष्यते । दाहिमानि दशपूपाः षडित्यादि यथेदितं *Bhamaha*, IV. 8; *Dandin*, III. 128), especially as Bhamaha distinctly says that the instances of the figures of speech given by

him are his own composition (स्वयंकृतेरवानिदर्शनैरयं मया प्रकल्पिता खलु वागलङ्कृतः II. 96). Old writers on 'poetics' are mentioned as भामहादयः. Bhamaha's work is called आकर, and the epithet *Purva* or *Prachina* is applied to him पूर्वस्यो भामहादिभ्यः—*Prataparudriya, nyaya prakarana*; भामहादयः. Vidhyadhara's *Ekavali*. B.S.S. Ed., p.30; भामहाद्वयप्रभृतयः. *Alankarasarvasva*, p. 3; भामहादिमतेन Rudrata's *Kavya-lankara*, p. 116; अत एव सर्वालकाराणामतिशयाक्तिगर्भत्वमाकरे दर्शितं—'नालंकारोनयाविना' इति। Raghavabhatta's *Arthadyotanika* or *Sak*). In only one case, Dandin is mentioned before Bhamaha by Namisadhu on Rudrata (दण्डि मेधाविरुद्धभामहादि-कृतानि सत्येवालंकारशस्त्राणि *Kavyanusasana*, p. 3). But the same author has भामहादिमतेन त्वर्थान्तरन्यास एव (p. 116) in another place where the views of Bhamaha and Dandin are identical. Dandin's numerous divisions of Upama, Rupaka, Akshepa, and Vyatireka as well as his detailed treatment of Sabdalankaras in a separate chapter indicates his belonging to a later age than Bhamaha whose divisions of Alankaras are not minute and who does not attach much importance to Sabdalankaras. In कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयदयः। सर्गबन्धसमा एव नैते वैषेशिका गुणाः ॥ कविभावकृतं चिह्नमन्यत्वापि न दुष्यति। (*Kavyadarsa* I., 29—30), एव and अपि have been used pointedly against the distinctive characteristics given by Bhamaha. In the beginning of Ch. IV, Bhamaha enumerates eleven poetic faults. Dandin enumerates the first ten in the same words and states that the faults are only ten, that the 11th fault which is the same as that mentioned by Bhamaha is hard to judge and that there is no fruit in troubling oneself about it (इति दोषा द्रष्टव्ये वज्याः काव्येषु सूचिः। प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिदोषो न वेत्यसौ। विचारः कर्कशः प्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलं *Kavyadarsa* III., 126-7). Dandin but not Bhamaha attaches great importance to style. Bhamaha thinks greatly of *yamaka* but Dandin says तत्तु नैकान्तमधुरं i.e., that it is not of itself sweet. Bhamaha has pointed out that a mere repetition of certain words in a composition cannot always constitute पुनरुक्त but Dandin shows that under certain circumstances almost everyone of the faults may be a beauty. Tarunavachaspati in his commentary on *Kavyadarsa* says (I. 29, II. 235, IV. 4) that Dandin controverts Bhamaha's opinions (Cf. also *Bhamaha* I. 22-3. with *Dandin* I. 21-2). From all this we infer that Bhamaha lived before Dandin (650—700 A.D.). Srivatsankamisra (10th century A.D.) ascribes the authorship of काव्यान्वयिपि यदीमामि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत्। उत्सवः सुधियामिव हन्त दुर्मेधसो हताः॥ (II. 20) to Bhamaha. And it is found slightly modified in the *Bhattikavya* also (व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यं उत्सवः सुधियामलं। हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत् प्रियतमा मया XXII 34). Bhatti seems also to illustrate Bhamaha's figures of word and sense in X, his Madhurya-guna in XI, his Bhavika Alankara as the pre-eminent excellence of composition in XII, his Sanskrit and Prakrit Kavya in XIII, his Prasada-guna in X to XIII as shown by the *Jayamangala* thereon. Thus Bhamaha

lived before Bhatti who cannot be later than 650 A.D., since he refers to a Dharasena of Vallabhi as his patron (काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायां कीर्तिचरिते भवतान्नृपस्य तस्य प्रेकरः क्षिति पो यतः प्रजानां ॥) and all the four Dharasenas of Vallabhi ruled between 500 and 560 A.D. (K. P. Trivedi's *Intro. to Bhattikavya and Prataparudriya*. Bombay Sanskrit Series, Ed.). In connection with the Katha and the Akhyayika, Bana and Dandin mention the *Brihatkatha* (भूतभाषामर्यां प्राहुः अद्भुतार्था बृहत्कथां । *Kayadarsa* I. 33 ; समुद्रोपितकंदर्पोक्तगौरौप्रसाधना । हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥ *Harshacharita*. *Intro.* 17) but Bhamaha omits to do so. So the *Brihatkatha* (500 A.D.) was not in existence in Bhamaha's time. Bhamaha, while he mentions such authors as Ramasarma, Medhavi, Sakavardhana and Nyasakara, and such works as *Achyutottara*, *Rajamitra*, and *Ratnaharana*, all unknown and lost to us, and, except *Medhavi*, not even mentioned or quoted elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, he never once refers to Kalidasa, or criticises or quotes from his works. This would be inexplicable if Bhamaha came after the famous poet. So Bhamaha preceded Kalidasa and this is confirmed by the fact that in *Megha* 5, Kalidasa is obviously defending himself from the possibility of Bhamaha being quoted as an authority against him for making a cloud a messenger, by saying that lovers feeling the keen pangs of separation from their beloved become mad as it were and unable to discriminate between animate and inanimate objects. This defence comes within the saving clause provided by Bhamaha who says 'It is against reason to choose for messengers such objects as cloud, wind, bee, pigeon, ruddy goose and parrot which are either mute or make only indistinct noises, and are always migratory. Only in the case of infatuated men is such a thing allowed' (अयुक्तिमद् यता दूता जलभृन्मास्तादयः । तथा भ्रमरहारीतचक्रवाकशुकादयः ॥ अवाचोव्यक्तं वाचश्च दूरदेशरिणः । कथं दूत्यं प्रपद्योरन्नितियुक्त्यान युज्यते ॥ यदि चोत्कण्ठया तत्तदुन्मत इव भाषते । तथा भवतु भूमेनेदं सुमेधोभिः प्रयुज्यते. I. 42-4). On the other hand, Bhamaha reviews the plot of the *Pratignanatika* in its entirety and subjects it to criticism in illustrating *Nyayavirodha* (IV. 40-7). Moreover, हतोनेन ममभ्राता ममपुत्रः पितामम in this passage is obviously a quotation from *Pratigna*, p. 13 (अनेन सम भ्राता हतोनेन ममपिता अनेन ममसुतः ।) only versified. The name itself of the *Natika* is not mentioned by Bhamaha, probably because it was well known in his days. So Bhamaha came between Bhasa and Kalidasa. Bhamaha also refers to Kanada of the *Vaiseshika Darsana* (कणभक्षौ यथाशब्दमाचक्षीताविनश्चरं. V. 17). "Vatsyayana (350 A.D.) uses the *Darsana*. There is a very striking coincidence between the phraseology of the proofs of the existence of the Atman in the *Vaiseshika* (III. 2-4 सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नाश्चात्मनो लिङ्गानि) and the *Nyaya* (I. 1-10 इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानानि आत्मनीर्लीङ्गे इति). Gotama in his phrase प्रतितन्त्रासद्धान्त seems to refer to the existence of the *Vaiseshika* school. Kanada makes a distinct advance

in defining the logical process, for he enumerates (IX. 2-1 ; cf. III. 1—9) four forms of real relationship corresponding with the logical relationship of reason and consequent *i.e.*, causality, simple connection, opposition and inherence (कर्मकरणं, संयोगि, विरोधि, ममवायि). The truth is that the two systems grew up on parallel lines, and when established as systems by successful disquisitions in public, were redacted with reference to each other." (*J.R.A.S.* 1914, p. 1093). So the *Vaiseshikadarsana* was composed at the same time as the *Nyayadarsana* *i.e.*, 300 A.D. So Bhamaha is not earlier than 350 A.D. On the other hand, the *Agnipurana* (500 A.D.) quotes Bhamaha (II. 21 and 79). Thus Kalidasa who refers to Bhamaha's criticism is not earlier than 400 A.D.

Dingnaga.—In commenting upon *Megha*. 14, Mallinatha says Kalidasa aims a side thrust at his rival Dingnagacharya in this verse, which may therefore admit of the following interpretation: 'Vindicated by thy fellow disciple, the poet Nichula, rise from this place, O nurse, to thy heaven of invention, holding up thy head, and avoiding in thy course the faults indicated by thy opponent Dingnagacharya, while thy flight is admired by good poets and fair women who wonder if the genius of the mighty Dingnaga would be eclipsed by thee'. He adds that the *Sabdarnava* recognises Nichula as the name of a poet (वानीरे कविभेदस्यान्निचुलः स्थलवेतसे) Dakshinavarta, a predecessor of Mallinatha (तथापि दक्षिणावर्तनाथाद्यैः क्षुण्णवर्त्मसु । वयं च कालिदासेक्तिष्वकाशं लभेमहि ॥) Mallinatha's introduction to his commentary on the *Raghu*, commenting on the same sloka, says that Dingnagacharya pointed out that Kalidasa was a plagiarist (दिल्नाग इति कोप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबन्धान् - अन्यलोवतोयमर्थ इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयदूषयितैः). Thus there was a reliable tradition that Kalidasa and Dingnaga (the author of *Pramanasamucchaya*) were contemporaries. It is now admitted that Dingnaga flourished in the 5th century A.D. (*Smith*, p. 329 ; *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 267). It is also proved by the fact that the Tibetans represent Dingnaga as a disciple of Vasubandhu (*J.A.S.B.* 1905, p. 227). Chinese literary tradition uniformly places Harivarman and Vasubandhu in the ninth century after Buddha, *i.e.*, in 320 to 420 A.D. Harivarman's great work was translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva (383 to 412 A.D.). Vasubandhu's *Sata Sastra* and *Bodhichittopadana Sastra* were translated in 404 A.D. by Kumarajiva, who also wrote a life of Vasubandhu not now extant. The *Yogacharya Bhumi Sastra* of Asanga, the elder brother of Vasubandhu, was translated by Dharmaraksha in 414 to 421 A.D. So Asanga, Vasubandhu and Harivarman were already authors of repute in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. Paramartha (499—569 A.D.), writing after 546 A.D., says that Vikramaditya of Ayodhya placed his crown prince Baladitya under Vasubandhu, that when Baladitya became king, he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhya where the latter died when eighty years old, and that Vasurata, a Brahman grammarian, attacked Vasu-

bandhu in the latter's old age and after Baladitya's accession. In *Vakya-padiya* II. 489, Bhartrihari (died 651 A.D.) says the study of grammar was revived by Chandracharya and others (स नीतोद्भवशास्त्रं चन्द्रार्थैर्दिभिः पुनः). Punyaraaja in his commentary thereon says 'others' included Vasurata, thereby indicating that Chandracharya and Vasurata were contemporaries चन्द्रार्थैर्दिभिः चन्द्रार्थवसुरातप्रभृतिभिः). Since Chandracharya or Chandragomin, in illustrating the use of the imperfect tense for an event, universally known, which occurred in the past but within the author's lifetime though not under his own eye, says 'The Gupta defeated the Huns' (अजयद्गुप्तो हूणान् *Vritti* on *Sutra* I. 2. 81 *Chandrayakaraṇa*), Vasurata was certainly living in 455 A.D., before which date Skandagupta defeated the invading Huns, as recorded in the undated Bhitari stone pillar inscription and in the Junagadh Rock inscription dated Gupta 136—455 A.D. अपिचजितमेव तेन प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्यरिष्वेवोपि । अमूलभग्नदपां निवसन्तोमले-
म्लेच्छदेशेषु. G.I., p. 52). So Vasubandhu lived before 455 A.D. Hiuen Thsang (629—645 A.D.) says Vasubandhu was the contemporary of Vikramaditya of Sravasti (which was already in ruins when Fa Hian visited it in 410 A.D. *Smith*, p. 299), and died in Ayodhya when he was eighty years old, *Watters* I. 211-2 and 359. Obviously therefore Vikramaditya of Ayodhya (Paramartha) and Vikramaditya of Sravasti (Hiuen Thsang) were identical, and he was ruling before 410 A.D., and had a son named Baladitya who succeeded him. Vamana (850 A.D.) in illustrating 'allusion' quotes a verse of Vasubandhu addressed to a contemporary king, the young son of Chandragupta and 'lustrous as the moon' and adds that Vasubandhu aspired to become that king's minister (सौर्य संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयं श्वेदप्रकाशोयुवा । जातोभूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्टया कृतार्थश्रमः ॥ आश्रमः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम्). So the Chandragupta of Vamana is identical with Vikramaditya of Ayodhya and Sravasti, since they were both fathers of Vasubandhu's patron. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., there is only one Chandragupta (II) who was also a Vikramaditya and he ruled from 370 to 413 A.D. (*Smith*, p. 327) over both Ayodhya and Sravasti and was ruling before Fa Hian visited Sravasti in 410 A.D. So 'Baladitya' was a Buddhist title of Kumaragupta, as the otherwise unknown 'Siladitya' was, according to Hiuen Thsang, a title of Srittarsha (606—647 A.D.). Since Vasubandhu died after Baladitya's accession (413 A.D.), he died about 420 A.D. when eighty years old and therefore lived from 340 to 420 A.D., and this fits in with his younger contemporary Vasurata living in 455 A.D. Thus Vasubandhu's disciple Dingnaga and his contemporary Kalidasa lived in 400—450 A.D.

The Brihatkatha.—Bana and Dandin mention the *Brihatkatha*. The *Dasarupaka* (1000 A.D.) says (p. 120) that it was the source of the *Mudrarakashasa* (बृहत्कथामूलं मुद्राराक्षसं). Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim to India (673-

695 A.D.) says Bhartrihari died in 651 A.D. Bhartrihari, a mere compiler, quotes the slokas (II. 17 and 18) of the *Mudrarakshasa* in his *Nitisataka*. In *Mudrarakshasa* VII, the conduct of Chandanadasa in sacrificing his life for his friend Rakshasa, is said to have transcended the nobility of even the Buddhas (VII. 5). This is not merely a tolerance of Buddhism but a positive compliment to it, and Visakhadatta himself, as is evident from his play, was not a Buddhist. In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., Buddhism had become so corrupt as to be viewed with intense aversion e.g., in Subandhu's *Vasavadatta*. The latest work that speaks at all tolerantly of Buddhism is the *Malatimadhava* of Bhavabhuti (700-750 A.D.). In Hiuen Tshang's time, it was flourishing only where it was supported by powerful kings. And since Sri Harsha strongly favoured Buddhism, *Nagananda*, his work, and *Kadambari*, the work of his protege Bana, speak in favourable terms of Buddhism. But otherwise even in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., Buddhism had become an object of popular ridicule. The Pallava Mahendravarman. I (600-625 A.D. Smith, p. 472) in his *Mattavilasaprahasana* (published in the Triv. Skt. Series) represents the Buddhist monks as saying 'Ah, ! our most merciful Lord Buddha has favoured our Sangha by prescribing such conduct as life in mansions, sleep on luxurious beds, food in the forenoon, delicious drinks in the afternoon, betel with spices, and fine dress. Why has he then failed to prescribe the company of women, and the drinking of wine? But it is impossible that He, the Omniscient One, should have forgotten to do so. So I think these malicious elders, who have lost their joy in life, being jealous of us young people, must have suppressed those passages in our scriptures which prescribe the company of women, and the drinking of wine. Where then can I recover texts that have not thus been tampered with? By discovering and publishing the complete sayings of Buddha, I will be doing the Sangha a good turn.' And yet this Buddhist monk has been represented as a simple, inoffensive and kindly person. So this shows that in 600 A.D., not only were the Buddhists leading a sensual life, but Buddhism itself had so far degenerated as to make the Buddhist monks think their practices were in strict accordance with the true teachings of Buddha. So the *Mudrarakshasa* dates before 600 A.D. In two MSS. of the play, the Bharatavakya reads *Avantivarman* in place of *Chandragupta*. Avantivarman was the name of a king of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.), but that province is too far from the provinces to which the MSS. belong and too little connected with them to allow of the identification of *Avantivarman* with that king. There was another Avantivarman the Mankhari king of Behar (Smith, p. 312), and, if our author was a native of Behar, as is likely from his choice of Maghada as the seat of the play, it is probable that the play was written in the reign of Avantivarman (one

of whose coins dates Gupta 250-569 A.D., *J.R.A.S.* 1906, p. 850) and so his name came to be substituted for that of Chandragupta. The *Mudra* mentions Kaliyuga in VII. 5, and the Huns as wild Indian tribes (*i.e.* after 528 A.D.) in V. 11. The *Brihatkatha*, therefore, is not later than 550 A.D. The *Tantrakhyayika*, the original of the *Panchatantra* which was translated into Pehlevi for Khusru Anushirwan of Persia (531-579 A.D.) clearly indicates that the sloka common to it, the *Mudra* (IV. 13), and the *Brihatkatha* (*Kathasaritsagara* 60. 118) is a quotation, and since the *Mudra* is based upon the *Brihatkatha*, the *Brihatkatha* was the original source of the sloka. So the *Brihatkatha* preceded the *Tantrakhyayika* and is therefore not later than 500 A.D. A copperplate of the Ganga Durvinita calls him देवभारतीनिबद्धहल्कथा (Hebbur plates, Epi. Car. XII. Tumkur 23) *i.e.*, the author of a Sanskrit rendering of the *Brihatkatha*. The Ganga plates place his accession in 482 A.D., and his Gummaredipura plates date the fortieth year (Mysore Report for 1912). So he ruled from 482 to 522 A.D. and the *Brihatkatha* is not later than 500 A.D. On the other hand, the *Brihatkatha* narrates miraculous legends about Satavahana and Nagarjuna referring to the events as having taken place formerly (पुरा) and mentions Turushkas (*i.e.*, Kushans), and Hunas (not known in India before 420 A.D.) (तुरुष्कतुरगत्राताः ... दूणहानिकृतस्तस्य. *Katha* 20, p. 84). Bhamaha was not aware of its existence. Kalidasa places the legends about Udayana only in the mouths of old village folk (*Megha* 30). The *Brihatkatha* distinguishes Pradyota (whom it makes king of Magadha) from Mahasena, king of Ujjain, and Gopalaka from Palaka, while Kalidasa and Bhasa identified Pradyota with Mahasena, the father of Vasavadatta, and made Gopalaka and Palaka into one person Gopalabalaka (*Megha*. 32; *Svapna*, pp. 20 and 69). And in describing Udayana's *digvijaya*, the *Brihatkatha* follows Raghu's *digvijaya* so closely even to the defeating of the Huns and Persians as to suggest conscious imitation. So the *Brihatkatha* was composed after the time of Kalidasa, who therefore is not later than 450 A.D.

Bana.—Bana describes himself as a Court poet of Sri Harsha (606-647 A.D.) in his *Harshacharita*. In his introduction to it, he describes previous poets and poems in the order :—Vyasa's *Bharata*, *Vasavadatta*, Bhattaraharichandra, Satavahana's *Kosa*, Pravarasena's *Setukavya*, Bhasa's dramas, Kalidasa, and the *Brihatkatha*. Bana is not mentioning them in order of merit, for then he would have mentioned Bhasa and Kalidasa immediately after Vyasa. So he mentions them in their chronological order; and that would be the order that naturally suggests itself. After mentioning the *Bharata* as the ideal poem (stanza 9), he praises the authors of spontaneous narrative poems *i.e.*, Akhyayikas (उच्छ्वासान्तेप्यखिन्नास्ते येषां वक्त्रे सरस्वती । कथमाख्यायिककारा न तेवन्धाः कवीश्वराः ॥ 11. 10), and follows it immediately with the men-

tion of *Vasavadatta* which curbed the pride of poets (कवीनामगलद्वर्षो नूनं वासवदत्तया 11) thereby indicating that it is *anakhayika*, the one mentioned by Patanjali (अधिकृत्यकृते ग्रन्थ इत्यत्राख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलं लुब्धकतन्वः । वासवत्ता सुमनोत्तरा ।. *Mahabhashya*, IV. 3. 87 ; आख्यायिका वासवदत्तिकः. IV. 2. 60) and not the prose *katha* of Subandhu who, mentioning Udyotakara and Dharmakirti, dates after 650 A.D. If Bana had Subandhu in mind, he would have mentioned his name as he mentions the names of all other poets, except the unknown author of the *Brihatkatha* which was later on attributed to Gunadhya. Even Dandin does not refer to the author of the *Brihatkatha* by name. So Bana did not know the name of the author of *Vasavadatta* also. Then, after referring to Bhattara Harichandra, he mentions the *Kosa* of gemlike good sayings by Satavahana (कोशरत्नैरिवसुभाषितैः 13), evidently an Andhra king of the first or the second century A.D. Then he mentions in order Pravarasena (14), Bhasa (15), Kalidasa (निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सक्तिषु । प्रीतिर्मधुरसाद्रासु मञ्जरांश्वव जायते 16) and the *Brihatkatha* (17). This supports our chronological order of Bhasa, Kalidasa and the *Brihatkatha* and shows that these were all later than Satavahana (first or second century A.D.).

The Evolution of the Avatars.—The *Rigveda* gives no hint of the theory of the Avatars. It no doubt says 'Thus did Vishnu traverse. Thrice did he plant his foot. In the dust of his footsteps, the world was immersed. Vishnu advanced three steps.' (*Rv.* I. 22. 17-8). But Vishnu is not mentioned as a dwarf, the son of Kasyapa, or as an incarnation, nor is he related to Bali, the Asura whose pride Vamana is said to have curbed. Even Yaska (XII. 19) knows nothing of that incarnation. 'A God Krishna is referred to in the *Rigveda* as the foe of Indra. "The fleet Krishna lived on the banks of the Amsumati (Jumna) with ten thousand troops. Indra of his own wisdom became cognizant of this loud yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of the Arya men" (*Rv.* VIII. 85. 13-5). Indra with Rijisva, son of Vidathi, killed the pregnant wives of Krishna (*Rv.* I. 101. 1, II. 20-7). Indra smote fifty thousand Krishnas as old age destroys the body (*Rv.* IV. 16-13). Krishna never had met a rival till Indra was born (*Rv.* VIII. 85-16). The Puranas describe a conflict between Indra and Krishna in which Krishna put an end to the worship of Indra on the banks of this very Jumna among the tribes that lived in the woods near the river. The phrase *fleet Krishna* vividly brings home to us that he was from early times the god of wandering pastoral tribes probably called the 'Vrishnis' (P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Life in Ancient India*). So even in the Vedic age there was a God Krishna but he was not an Aryan God. It is this Krishna that is said to have slain the giant Kesi in the *Atharva Samhita*; and from this alone it appears that his worship was older than that of Indra. The *Satapatha*

Brahmana gives the rudiments of the later Fish, Tortoise, Boar and Dwarf incarnations. It gives an account of the saving of Manu by a fish in the Deluge but does not say who the fish is and does not connect it with Vishnu or his incarnations. It says (VI. 1 and VII. 5) that when Prajapati desired to create the earth from the waters, he compressed the earth till then an eggshell and threw it into water. The juice which flowed therefrom became a tortoise and the earth dissolved itself all over the water. Prajapati then toiled and brought forth all matter. The lower shell of the tortoise is this world, the upper shell the sky, and what is between the air. A boar called Emusha raised the earth up and became its Prajapati. The gods and asuras once contended for superiority (I. 2). The gods were worsted, and the asuras got possession of the world and were beginning to divide it when the gods with Vishnu a dwarf at their head went to the asuras and asked for a share. The asuras agreed to give as much as Vishnu would lie upon. The gods then enclosed Vishnu on three sides with Gayatri, Jagati and Trishtubh metres and on the fourth with Agni and went on worshipping and toiling till they obtained the whole earth. These accounts differ much from the Pauranik one. Vishnu is himself said to be a Dwarf, and neither the Tortoise, Boar, nor Dwarf is said to be an incarnation. The *Kaushitaki Brahmana* refers to a Krishna Devakiputra (not the God Krishna) as the disciple of Rishi Ghore. The *Cchandogya Upanishad* (III. 17-6) mentions him as a teacher of Vedanta and tells us he learnt from his teacher Ghora Angirasa that sacrifice may be performed without objective means, that moral qualities are its real signs, and that the worship of the sun as the God of gods leads us to the highest light. He then founded a religious system of monotheism called the Satvata, Bhagavata or Pancharatra, God being on his system simply called Bhagavan. His religion was at first confined among his own clan the Yadavas or the Vrishnis. But as time went on, his teaching spread wide, and he was himself identified with the God Bhagavan he taught, and the doctrine of Bhakti was added to it. Dhritarashtra Vaichitravirya is mentioned in the *Kathaka Samhita*, the Kauravya King Parikshit in the *Atharvan* and Janamejaya Parikshita in the *Brahmanas*. Krishna Devakiputra Vasudeva was born in the same epoch as these i.e., at the time of the composition of the late Samhitas and the Brahmanas, but before the Upanishads, before the development of the Sankhya and the Vedanta. The orthodox condemn the Pancharatra as unvedic. Kumarila (*Tantravartika*, pp. 194 and 165. Trans. Jha) refers to Krishna as a great lawgiver and as an example of righteous conduct and quotes *Gita* IV. 11 as authoritative but he includes the Pancharatra among systems such as the Bauddha, Sankhya, Yoga, Pasupata and Nirgrantha that are opposed to the Veda. Sankara, who

in his introduction to his *Gita Bhashya* calls the *Gita* the essence of all Vedas, (समस्तवेदार्थसारसंग्रहभूतम्) proves the unvedic character of the Pancharatra in his *Sutra Bhashya* (II. 2. 45). This shows that the system founded by Krishna was at first only the religion of a sect. The identification of Vasudeva with Bhagavan was complete already in the time of Panini who, in his *Sutra वासुदेवाजुनौ* (IV. 3-98), places Vasudeva before Arjuna though the latter is the shorter word, because he is an object of reverence and includes Vasudeva in this *Sutra* instead of in the following one (IV. 3-99) which provides that क should be added to the names of famous Kshatriyas when they are objects of veneration, because he is not merely a Kshatriya, but a god. This is the interpretation of the *Mahabhashya* and the *Kasikavritti*. In 300 B.C. we find that Kautilya mentions Krishna and Sankarshana among the Gods (pp. 401, 419), but does not identify either with Vishnu. And Megasthenes (300 B.C.) says that Hercules (= Harikulesa = Balarama) was worshipped by the Saurasenians of Mathura, had numerous progeny and wives, was the god of the plains, had a club and a lion's skin, and was feared by the Hindus. All this applies to Balarama who, like Hercules, performed in childhood many miraculous feats and lived in exile for twelve years among the cowherds. The *Suttapitaka* compiled in Asoka's time (250 B.C.) mentions Vasudeva and Balarama as deities of specific sects and calls Krishna an Asura or Mara which indicates that he was a Hindu God. But still he is not identified with Vishnu. The *Gita* refers to Vasudeva as the Bhagavan, reconciles the Sankhya, the Vedanta and the Pancharatra doctrine of Bhakti and prepares the way for the identification of Vasudeva with Vishnu by saying Vasudeva is 'Vishnu among the Adityas' (X. 21). So the *Gita* dates after 250 B.C., but before 200 B.C. when a Ghasundi inscription speaks of a puja stonewall for worship of Bhagavan, Sankarshana and Vasudeva (Lüder's *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 6) and when the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (X. 1-6) hardly later than the third century B.C. (*J.R.A.S.* 1908, p. 171-n) identifies Narayana, Vasudeva and Vishnu. In 170 B.C. (*Smith* p. 242) Heliodorus, son of Dion, ambassador of Antalcidas to Bhagabhadra, a native king of Mathura, in his fourteenth year, and a Bhagavata erects a Garudadvaja (the Besnagar column) to Vasudeva, God of Gods', thus identifying him with Vishnu whose vehicle was Garuda (*Lüder's List*, No. 669). In 150 B.C., Patanjali discussing Panini IV. 3-98 says that 'Vasudeva' is a 'Samgna' of the 'Bhagavan', notices a verse which mentions temples to Balarama and Kesava (II. 2-34), refers to Krishna's killing his uncle Kamsa (जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः III. 2, 111; असाधुर्मातुले कृष्णः II. 3-36), and refers to the enacting of the plays *Kamsavadha* and *Balibandha* (III. 1-26) which shows that in 150 B.C., besides the Krishna incarnation, the Hindus knew the Vamana incarnation also which they evolved by correcting Vishnu

Trivikrama and Vishnu the dwarf with the story of the binding of Bali. Then the *Anugita* which recapitulates the *Gita* (250-200 B.C.) makes no allusion, in mentioning the story of Parasurama, to his being an incarnation or to his encounter with Rama. On the advice of the Pitris, he abandons the slaughter of Kshatriyas and resorting to penance achieves emancipation. The *Avadana Sataka*, translated into Chinese in 200-250 A.D., mentions Rama as a God (रामदेवता. Bibl. Buddhica III. Vol. I, p. 195), but not as an incarnation of Vishnu. Amara who gives many synonyms for Krishna Devakiputra Vasudeva whom he identifies with Vishnu, Narayana, Govinda (the pastoral God Krishna of the Rigveda), and Trivikrama, the foe of Bali विष्णुर्नारायणः कृष्णः ; गोविन्दो गरुडध्वजः ; वासुदेवस्त्रिविक्रमः ; कंसारातिः ; देवकीनन्दनः बलिध्वंसी ;) and for Balarama whom he identifies with Sankarshana (बलबद्धः रामः ; ; हलायुधः ; संकर्षणः ;) omits all mention of Rama. So he knew only the Krishna and the Vamana incarnations. Amara refers to Turushkas (i.e. Kushans), 'Tathagata' as a name for Buddha (not found in the Bharaut and Sanchi topes 250 B.C.), planets, *rasis*, and the system of Yugas and Manvantaras (रविः शुक्रो महीसुनुः स्वर्मानुर्भानुजो विधुः । बुधो बृहस्पतिश्चेति दिशांचैव तथा ग्रहाः ॥ शशीनासुदयो लक्षं ते तु मेघवृषादयः ; मासेनस्यादहोरात्रः पैत्रो वर्षेणदैवतः । दैवे युगसहस्रे द्वे ब्राह्मः कल्पौ तु तौ नृणाम् ॥ मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।). So Amara is not earlier than 200 A.D. A correct explanation of 'Jatra' (=neck) is found in *Susruta*, *Charaka*, and even *Vagbhata*. But, misled by Vagbhata's identification of the 'Amsa' with the peak of the shoulder, Amarasimha attaches to 'Jatur' the wrong meaning 'collarbone'. Since Vagbhata is not earlier than 250 A.D., Amara dates 300 A.D., or after. A reference to *Amarakosa* is found in the *Amoghavritti* written in Saka 789-867 A.D. Jinendrabuddhi (8th cent. A.D.) quotes the words तन्त्र प्रधाने सिद्धान्ते of Amarasimha in his *Kasikavivarana panchika*. In Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* श्ववद्वायथाशब्दाः समाननिभसंनिभाः । तुल्यसंकाशनिकाशप्रकाशप्रतिरूपकाः । सदृक्सदृशसवादि सजातीयानुवादिनः । सलक्षणसदृक्षाथसपक्षोपामितोपमाः । appear to have been suggested by Amara's वद्वा यथा तयैवैवं साम्ये ... वाच्यलिङ्गाः समस्तुल्यः सदृक्षः सदृशः सदृक् साधारणः । समानश्चस्युरुत्तरपदे त्वमी । निभसंकाशनीकाशप्रतीकाशोपमादयः *Amarakosa* was translated into Chinese by Gunarata of Ujjain in the 6th cent. A.D. (Max Muller's *India*, 1st Ed., p. 328), *Sasvata*, a fuller work than Amara's 'Nanarthavarga' agrees with the latter in some places word for word e. g. अनु and अनुबन्धः. Amara says अतिथ्य means अतिथ्यर्थ, while *Katya* and *Mala* say that अतिथ्यः means अतिथिः. Kshirasvamin adds that for this very reason *Sasvata* gives both the meanings शाश्वतोत्तर एव उभयमाह. So Amara lived before *Sasvata* which in its last words says it was composed in consultation with Varaha (died 587 A.D.) (महाबलने कविना वराहेण च धीमता । सह सम्यक् परामृदय निर्मितोयं प्रयत्नतः ॥). Amara's शलार्थापि

परा राजमनुष्यार्थादराजकात् । is a rendering of Panini's सभाराजमनुष्यपूर्वा and not of Chanda's simpler and more intelligible sutra ईश्वराथादराज्ञः सभा । Kshirasvamin commenting on the word आप्य says आप्यं तु लक्ष्यत् । अत एव - आप्यं वेति चान्द्रं सूत्रम् (Oka. Ed., p. 40), and when explaining मन्द says मन्दते स्वपितीव मन्दः । अतएवमिदजाड्य इति चान्द्रोधातुः (p. 161). So Amara lived before the composition of the *Chandavyakarana* in 455 A.D. Amarasimha, though a Buddhist, had strong leanings towards Sankhya philosophy as is evident from his words क्षेत्रज्ञ आत्मा पुरुषः प्रधानं प्रकृतिः स्त्रियां । This philosophy was revised by Vindyavasin, the rival of Buddhmitra and his pupil Vasubandhu (340-420 A.D.). Paramartha (499-569 A.D.) says Buddhmitra was defeated by Vindyavasa who, however, died after Baladitya's accession in 413 A.D., but before Vasubandhu could make amends for his teacher's discomfiture. Amarasimha says अन्तराभवसत्त्वश्चे गन्धर्वो दिव्यगायने । i.e. अन्तराभवसत्त्व (= अन्तरामरणजन्मनोर्मध्यं भवं सत्त्वं यातनाशरीरं) is one of the senses of the word Gandharva. Kumarila Bhatta in his *Slokavartika* says the existence of अन्तराभवदेहस्तु is rejected by Vindyavasin (अन्तराभवदेहं नेष्यते विन्द्यवासिना । तदस्तित्वे प्रमाणं हि न किञ्चिदवगम्यते ॥). So Amara lived before 350 A.D. i.e., in 300 A.D. Bhasa (350 A.D.) knows, besides the Krishna and Vamana incarnations, only the Rama incarnation. He says that God was known in the Krita Yuga as Narayana, in the Treta as Vishnu Trivikrama (since the Vamana incarnation is supposed to have taken place at the close of the Krita Yuga), in the Dvapara as Rama (since the Rama incarnation came at the close of the Treta), and in the Kali as Damodara i.e., Hari born among the Vrishnis (since the Krishna incarnation came at the close of the Dvapara) (*Balacharita* I. 1 and 2). Our date for Bhasa is confirmed by the reference to the four yugas in these slokas. The present *Ramayana* (350 A.D.) indicates another stage in the evolution of the story of Parasurama in that it mentions his encounter with Rama, and both in it and the *Ramopakhyana* of the *Mahabharata*, Rama appears as an incarnation of Vishnu. In the original *Ramayana*, Rama was not regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. Valmiki asks Narada to name the greatest and best of *men*. Narada then describes Rama and his history down to his attaining *Brahmaloka* (not, as we should expect, Vaikuntha, the world of Vishnu). In this narrative no reference is made to Rama's identity with Vishnu. On the contrary, it is said that 'he was equal in valour to Vishnu (I. 1. 18), thereby indicating that he was not yet recognised as Vishnu. When Kabandha's body was placed on a pyre, a beautiful being rose out of it in the sky and advised Rama to visit on his way to Sugriva's place the Sramani named Savari. 'O Rama, seeing you who is worthy of being saluted by all creatures and who is like a god, Savari, who is ever devoted to her pious duties, will go to

heaven' (III. 73-27). If the poet who wrote this recognised Rama to be an incarnation of Vishnu, he could not have resisted the temptation of referring to that fact here. Again, when Rama and Lakshmana reached the hermitage of Savari, she welcomed Rama in a speech where she called him 'foremost among gods,' 'bull among men,' and 'tiger among men' (III. 74. 12 and 18). This shows Rama was considered as the best of men and even of gods, but was not yet identified with Vishnu, though, as the fruit of seeing him, Savari is sure that she will attain imperishable worlds (III. 74. 13). When the gods asked Rama why, though he was the creator of the worlds, and omniscient, he forgot himself and refused to take back Sita like an ordinary man, Rama inquired in reply 'I think myself to be a man named Rama, son of Dasaratha. Tell me, O Bhagavan, who and whence I am' (VI. 117-11). Brahma told him in reply that he was Narayana, Vishnu, Krishna, Vamana, Varaha and Bhagavan. (VI. 117. 13-27). This indicates that there was a time when Rama was not recognised as an incarnation of Vishnu. Yet the next canto opens thus 'Hearing this auspicious speech of Brahma, Agni sprang up with Vaidehi on his lap' (VI. 118-1) and Agni then speaks to Rama in a quite different tone. He does not refer to the fact that Sita was the incarnation of Lakshmi as Brahma is reported to have said (VI. 117. 27). He only says Sita is chaste and requests Rama to take her back without scruple (VI. 118. 5-10). In the abstract of the epic given in Book I, canto I, the episode of Sita's entering the fire and Rama's recognition of her innocence on the testimony of Agni is referred to, but nothing is said about the intervention of Brahma or the very important revelation made by him (I. 1. 81-3). Besides, in Brahma's speech which is said to have taken place in the Treta, the Krishna incarnation which was to have taken place only at the close of the Dvapara is already referred to. Thus VI. 117 is a clear interpolation; but belonging to the present *Ramayana*, is earlier than Kalidasa and indicates that in its time the Pancharatra God Bhagavan was identified with Narayana and Vishnu, and that the Krishna, Vamana *i.e.*, Dwarf, Rama, and Varaha *i.e.*, Boar incarnations were known. Since Bhasa was unaware of the Boar incarnation which was evolved by assimilating the boar Emusha of the *Satapatha Brahmana* with Vishnu, the present *Ramayana* is later than Bhasa (350 A.D.) and belongs to the latter half of the 4th century A.D. Kalidasa identifies Rama, Vamana and Varaha through Vishnu of whom they were incarnations. (*Raghu* XI. 22; XV. 103, XVI. 82, XVIII. 25, and XVII. 56). He also identifies the pastoral God Krishna of the *Rigveda* with Vishnu and refers to the Dwarf incarnation in his *Meghaduta* (15 and 59). He has many references relating to the Krishna incarnation, to Jumna and Mathura (*Raghu* VI. 48), Kaliya and Yamuna

(*Raghu* VI. 49), Krishna with his Kaustubha (*Raghu* VI. 49), Brindavana and Chaitraratha (*Raghu* VI. 50), and Govardhana (*Raghu* VI. 51). He thus knows the same incarnations as the present *Ramayana*, but indicates a further stage in the evolution of Parasurama's story when he refers to the sage as having recovered land from the ocean, an episode unknown even to the present *Ramayana* (*Raghu* IV. 53, 58). Lastly the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, by adding Parasurama also as an avatara, by assimilating the fish and the tortoise of the *Satapatha Brahmana* with Vishnu, and by inventing three new incarnations, the Man-lion, Buddha and Kalki, made up the figure 10, which is the present number of incarnations (मत्स्यः कूर्मो वरहश्च नरसिंहोऽथ वामनः । रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्कीति ते दश ॥. *Maha.* XII. 348-2). The reading in the text is no doubt रामो रामश्च रामश्च but the detailed description of the incarnations that immediately follows this Sloka (slokas 3 to 54) clearly supports our corrected reading. This Pauranik list of incarnations seems to be based on the scientific idea of evolution from the fish that lives only in water through the tortoise which lives both in water and on land, the boar which lives on land alone, the man-lion which is a higher species of animal and a lower species of man, the Dwarf who is the rudimentary man, Rama of the axe who represents the man of uncontrolled passions and an age when the functions of warrior and priest had not yet been partitioned, Rama son of Dasaratha the model of all human relations as son, husband, brother, friend and king, Krishna the liberated man who is a law unto himself, and Buddha the man who will not seek salvation so long as there is a single soul suffering on earth and the type of selflessness and service, to Kalki the man who has become God and the master of all nature. But when there was a reaction against Buddhism, some *Puranas* explained that the purpose of the Buddha incarnation was to delude all sinners and lead them astray. This action attributed to God seeming to other *Puranas* positively wicked and unworthy they substituted Balarama in place of the obnoxious Buddha. Then to account for Balarama (who, like Rama's brother Lakshmana, was regarded only as the incarnation of Sesa or Sankarshana) being made an incarnation of Vishnu a story was interpolated into the *Mahabharata* that Balarama and Krishna were born from two hairs of Narayana (*Maha* I. 214. 32-3). Thus the history of the evolution of the Avatars which was completed in the time of the present *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* (500 A.D.) also supports our general chronological position.

The political conditions in the times of Kalidasa.—Sunanda takes Indumati at her Svayamvara first to the king of Magadha (*Raghu* VI-20), though in the time of Raghu, the Kosala king ought to have been first. Kalidasa makes Dilipa's wife Sudakshina, and Dasaratha's wife Sumitra, princesses

of Magadha, though there is no reference to the fact in the *Ramayana* (*Raghu* I. 31; IX-17). A Magadha king is made the contemporary of Aja and a fellow suitor for Indumati's hand (VI. 21). He is also said to be the lord of Pushpapura *i.e.*, Pataliputra (VI. 24). But the Magadha kingdom was not in existence earlier than ten generations before the Bharata war. (*Pargiter*, p. 13). Even Rama, Aja's grandson, preceded the Bharata war by more than thirty generations. Pataliputra was not built before 438 B.C. Moreover, Raghu is made to conquer the Huns unknown to Hindus before 420 A.D., though there is no mention of the Huns in the *Ramayana*. So Kalidasa's political references are contemporary, and not historical. And the frequent references to the Maghadas shows they were powerful in Kalidasa's time. Since Kalidasa omits to say Raghu conquered Maghada, they must have been universal sovereigns of India and his patrons. In *Raghu* VI, Sunanda takes Indumati first to the Maghada king, of whom Sunanda is made to say 'let there be a thousand kings. The earth is possessed of a lord in him alone' (22). Indumati 'looked at him awhile' (25) and bows to him alone of all the kings (25). Maghada was powerful down to 27 B.C. and again only from 320 to 500 A.D. after which the Huns invaded India and broke the power of the Maghada king. Then Sunanda takes Indumati to the Arga king (27). Raghu omits to conquer the Arga king also. The Argas were never powerful and attained importance only when a branch of the Guptas ruled them. Sasanka, a king of Arga, was a Narendra Gupta (*Smith*, p. 346). This places Kalidasa only in 320 to 500 A.D. Indumati is next taken to the Malva king (32) 'who lights up the faces of his kind men with joy and destroys his enemies by valour as the sun makes the lotuses bloom and dries up the mud with his heat' (36), who is 'young' (35) and a 'rising moon' (31). Raghu after conquering the Aparantas (*i.e.*, Konkan) goes by the land route through Malva and Gujrat to Sindh to conquer the Parasikas and yet meets no enemy on the way (IV. 59-60). From 58 B.C. to 390 A.D., Gujrat and Malva were successively under Nahapana and his successors, Gautamiputra and his son Pulumayi, and Rudradaman and his descendants. If Kalidasa had lived in this period, Raghu should have met and conquered these on his way to Sindh, but Kalidasa makes no mention at all of the Sakas or the Andhras. So he is not earlier than 390 A.D. Nor could he have been later than 500 A.D., when the Hun Toramana became ruler of Malva, and the Huns retained Malva till 528 A.D., when Yasodhaman defeated them and recovered it. But after 530 A.D. Gujrat was absorbed by Khusru Anushirwan. Between 390 and 500 A.D., Malva and Gujrat were under an imperial Gupta viceroy, and Kalidasa could well have omitted to say that Raghu defeated him. Kalidasa's references to the Malva king point to Skandagupta

who was young in his father's lifetime, ruling at Ujjain as Kumaragupta's viceroy and who, by defeating the Pushyamitras in 450 A.D., and restoring the tottering fortunes of his family (Smith, p. 308) might be said to be 'rising into prominence like a moon', to have 'lighted up the faces of his kinsmen (the Guptas of Magadha and Arga) with joy' and to have 'destroyed his enemies by his valour'. This inference places the *Raghuvamśa* between 450 A.D. and 455 A.D., when Skandagupta himself became King of Magadha. So Kalidasa's contemporary in Magadha was Kumaragupta (413 to 455 A.D.) and he might well be referred to as, of all Kings, 'a performer of sacrifices' (VI. 23), for during the reign of Kumaragupta the empire gained additions and Kumara celebrated the horse sacrifice as an assertion of his paramount sovereignty (Smith, p. 299). Out of a total of 120 slokas in *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa devotes 27 (the 23rd to the 49th) to Malva and of these 12 (30th to 41st) to the description of Ujjain and its Mahakala temple alone. He compares Ujjain to a 'shining bit of heaven' (30), makes the cloud go out of its way to see Ujjain that it may not miss the sight of the women of Ujjain unmatched for beauty (27). He goes out of his way to say that Satrughna placed his son Subahu in charge of Vidisa, the Capital of Eastern Malva (XV. 36). These show that he was a native and lover of Malva. That Kalidasa had Skandagupta in mind when he referred to the Malva King is made probable by his choice of the title *Vikramorvasiyam* for one of his plays. Panini's rule IV. 3-88 requires that ईय should be affixed to dvanda compounds only. But there is no reason to suppose that Vikrama was a name of Pururavas. So we infer that even at the risk of breaking a rule of Panini, Kalidasa means us to explain it as विक्रमेण लब्धा उर्वशी etc., that he may have an opportunity of indicating to us his patron Skandagupta Vikramaditya. This confirms the tradition which associates Kalidasa with Vikramaditya King of Ujjain. The names *Kautsa* (*Raghu* V. 1) and *Virasena* (Dharinis' step-brother and Governor of the frontier fort on the Narmada. अस्ति देव्या वणीवरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम । स भर्त्रा अन्तपालदुर्ये नर्मदाक्षरे स्थापितः Mal. I) may have been suggested by the name of *Virasena* a *Kautsa* connected with Chandragupta II. After defeating and restoring his kingdom to the Kalinga king, Raghu turned south and went straight to the Kaveri without encountering the Pallavas at Kanchi (*Raghu* IV. 43-5). M. Jouveau Dubreuil has shown in his *Pallavas* that the Pallavas were in continuous possession of Kanchi from 200 to 340 A.D., when Samudragupta defeated Vishnugopa of Kanchi on his southern expedition (Allahabad pillar inscription) and again from the time of Simhavarman, son of Skandavarman, down to 900 A.D. But the Omgodu No. 1 plates of this Skandavarman date from Tambrapa camp and not Kanchi (G.O. No. 99, August 1916, Pt. II, No. 3) indicating that in the interval between Vishnu-

gopa 340 A.D. and Simhavarman, the Pallavas had lost Kanchi, perhaps as the result of the confusion which followed Samudragupta's expedition. But Sarvanandin's *Lokavibhaga* purports to have been written in Kanchi in Saka 380—458 A.D. for Simhavarman in his 22nd year. The astronomical details given therein work out correctly and there was a Pallava Simhavarman about that period who anointed the Western Ganga Ayyavarman, father of Madhava II, who made the grant record in the Penukonda plates in Circa 460 A.D. The introduction of an unknown name like Simhavarman in the work can hardly be accounted for except on the understanding that there is something substantial at the bottom of the date (*J.R.A.S.* 1915, pp. 470—485). So Simhavarman had recovered Kanchi before 458 A.D., and Kalidasa who omits to mention the Pallavas at Kanchi dates between 340 and 458 A.D. Kalidasa says Raghu defeated the Aparantas and made the Trikuta itself serve as his pillars of victory (IV. 58-9). They are called the Anupas in (VI. 37), and their king was a descendant of Kartavirya, the Haihaya (VI. 38 and 41), and his capital was Mahishmati (*i.e.*, Mandhata) on the Reva (*i.e.*, Narmada) (VI. 43). The Haihayas who ruled at Mandhata started the Chedi or Traikutaka era (249 A.D.) named after their city Trikuta on the Satpura hills, so called from the neighbouring three high peaks. So Kalidasa lived after 249 A.D. From Trikuta, Raghu started to conquer the Parasikas (IV. 60). He clouded the faces of the Yavanis (IV. 61). And, in a severe battle with the Paschatyas, who had a powerful 'cavalry of horses,' (IV. 62) decapitated their bearded faces (IV. 63). Then he starts north to defeat the Huns, but he is not said anywhere to have defeated the Parasikas whom he sets out to subdue. So we must identify the Parasikas with the Yavanas and Paschatyas. The Parasikas were called Yavanas before Alexander's invasion (326 B.C.), and again after the decline of the Greeks in India after their last king Hermaeus (40 A.D.). In the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Sri Pulumayi Vasisthiputra (*Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 60) the Yavanas are mentioned together with the Sakas and Pallavas as having been destroyed by his father Gautamiputra and in the period when this inscription was engraved, Circa 120 A.D., there were no Greeks in India as rulers (*Smith*, p. 236). So here *Yavanas* refers to Persians. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman (150 A.D.) also, Asoka's Governor in Kathiawad, Tushaspa (an Iranian name) is called a Yavana and 'Tushaspa' is obviously not a Greek name. So in the early centuries A.D. 'Yavanas' meant 'Parasikas.' Moreover, only Persians fought with the aid of powerful cavalry as the Paschatyas as are said to have done; Mallinatha explains 'Paschatyas' as 'Yavanas' while other commentators explain 'Paschatyas' as 'Parasikas'. So 'Paschatyas', 'Yavanas' and 'Parasikas' were identical. Kalidasa calls the horses वनायुदेश्याः (V. 73)

and Halayudha identifies Vanayudesa with Parasika. The Paschatyas are said to have bearded faces which is true of the Persians, and not of the Greeks who generally shaved their faces. The Greeks and the Persians, moreover, never ruled together side by side in India, as they should do if we distinguish Parasikas from Paschatyas and Yavanas. The Greeks ruled from 200 B.C. to 50 A.D., while the Persians were in possession of Sindh only from the time of Shahpur II (309 A.D.). Tabari mentions Sindh as one of the provinces lost to the Persian kingdom by Kawadh (488—531 A.D.) and recovered by Anushirwan (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 113-4). Thus Raghu's defeat of the Persians in Sindh places Kalidasa between 309 and 531 A.D. From Sindh Raghu starts north (IV. 66) and defeated the Huns on the banks of the Vankshu (=Oxus. *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 266) (IV. 67-8). Mallinatha (1350—1400 A.D., *Meghaduta* Pathak Ed. Introd., pp. XXI-XXII) reads सिन्धुतीर but the earlier Vallabhadeva (1120 A.D. *Ibid* pp. XIV-XV., reads बङ्खुतीर). Moreover Kshirasvamin, who being quoted by Vardhamana in his *Ganaratnamahodadhi* (1141 A.D.) and himself quoting Bhoja (1018—1060 A.D., *Smith*, p. 395) lived in 1050 to 1100 A.D. identifies the country where Raghu defeated the Huns with Vahlikadesa or Bactria, quoting the very words of Kalidasa. (बह्लीकदेशं वाह्लीकं यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये—दुधुवुर्वीजनः स्कन्धाह्लंमकुंकुमकेसरान् । *Amarakosa* Oka. Ed., p. 110). Bactria is on the banks of the Oxus. Since Raghu defeats the Huns on the banks of the Oxus (तत्र in IV. 68 refers to बङ्खुतीर in 67), the Huns had already established themselves in the Oxus basin (448 A.D.) but had not yet conquered Gandhara from the Persians (484 A.D.) (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 113), nor had they as yet sustained defeat at the hands of Skandagupta (455 A.D.). If the Huns had occupied Gandhara in Kalidasa's time, since Raghu would have to pass through Gandhara on his way from Sindh to Bactria, he would have defeated the Huns in Gandhara and not in Bactria. If Kalidasa had known of Skandagupta's victory over the Huns, he would not have lost the opportunity to suggest a reference to that event. These facts place the composition of the *Raghuvamsa* in 448—455 A.D. It has been argued that the Hindus might have known the Huns even before the fifth century A.D. But even in the reign of Hwwei Tei of China (194-179 B.C.) the Hiungnu of the Turki race were still in Kansuh (enclosed between Tibet and Eastern Turkestan on the west, Mangolia on the south, and China on the south and east—*Ency. Britt.* VI., p. 194). The ancient Indians knew, through commercial intercourse, only such tribes as dwelt on the coasts of the Pacific, the Arabian sea, and the Mediterranean. So they could not have known the Hiungnu who lived inland far from the Indian frontiers. The Hiungnu drove the Yue-Chi from Kansuh in 165 B.C. westwards (*Smith*, p. 248). Thereupon the latter occupied the territory north and south of the Oxus, Bactria and Sogdiana (*Smith*,

p. 250). Kashgar, Yarkhand and Khotan remained independent principalities. In 73 to 102 A.D., Pan Chao, the Chinese General, conquered Khotan, Yarkhand and Kashgar (*Smith*, p. 253) which Kanishka reconquered in 103 A.D. except Khotan lost to China only in 152 A.D. (*Smith*, pp. 262, 278). Down to 340 A.D., the date of Samudragupta's expedition, the Kushans continued to rule on the banks of the Oxus (*Smith*, p. 286). Only towards the close of the fourth century A.D., white Huns began to move westwards, and about 420 A.D. we find them for the first time in Transoxiana (*Ency. Britt.* IX., p. 680). So all Indian works which refer to the Huns must date after 420 A.D., when alone they could even have heard of the Huns from the Bactrians. In 448 A.D. the Huns had established themselves in the Oxus basin. Before 455 A.D. they had sustained defeat at the hands of Skandagupta. In 485 A.D. they defeated and killed the Persian King Firuz (*Smith*, p. 316) and annexed Gandhara (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 113). The Chinese traveller Song Yun, who was in Gandhara in 520 A.D., says that the Huns conquered it only two generations before. Then alone they turned their successful arms to India. From a comparison of the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta (484 A.D.) and the Eran Boar inscription of Toramana, Dr. Fleet showed that Toramana succeeded Budhagupta (*Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 227) whose latest date is Gupta 180 = 499 A.D. Gunabhadra (who, from the use of आसीत् in the concluding prasasti written in the time of his pupil Lokasena, must have died long before Saka 820 = 898 A.D. शिष्यः श्रीगुणभद्रसूरिनयोरसीजगद्भिः) says the tyrant Kalkiraja was born 1,000 years after Mahavira's death (*i.e.*, 1000—528 = 472 A.D.) when there occurred a Magha-Samvatsara (which is true of 472 A.D.) (दुष्टमायां सहस्राब्दव्यतीतौ धर्महानितः ... दुर्जनादिमः । चतुर्मुखाह्वयः कल्की राजेद्विजितभूतलः । उत्पत्स्यते मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे । समानां सप्ततिस्तस्य परमायुः प्रकीर्तितम् । चत्वारिंशत्समा राज्यस्थितिश्चाक्रमकारिणः । महीं कृत्वा स भोक्ष्यति । कश्चिदसुर शुद्धदृक् तथा । हनिष्यति तमन्यायं शक्तः सन्सहते नहि । सोऽपि रत्नप्रभां गत्वा सागरोपमजीवितः । चिरं चतुर्मुखो दुःखं लोभादनुभविष्यति । *Uttarapurana* 76. 394—8 and 411-2). Nemichandra in his *Trilokasara* says the tyrant war born 394 years after the Saka king *i.e.*, in the same year 472 A.D. (शाकराजो जयति । तत् उपरि चतुर्णवत्युत्तरत्रिंशत्तवर्षाणि सप्तमासधिकानि गत्वा पश्चात् कल्की जायते). Since Gunabhadra says Kalkiraja lived for 70 years and ruled 40 years, Kalkiraja ruled from 502 to 542 A.D. There is reason to identify this Kalkiraja with Mihirakula. The latter was also ruling in the same period, since Songyun and Cogmas who visited India in 520 and 530 A.D. found him ruling over Gandhara with his capital at Sakala (Sialkot). Kalkiraja is said to have been a paramount sovereign (महा कृत्वा स भोक्ष्यति). So was Mihirakula, because Yasodharman says he bowed down to none save Siva. Kalkiraja is said to have been the foremost among the

wicked (दुर्जनादिमः), a perpetrator of sinful deeds (अक्रमकारिन्), and an oppressive tyrant (उद्वेजितभूतलः). Similarly the Greek monk Cosmas says Gollas (Mihirakula), the Hun King of India, exacted tribute of oppression with 2,000 war elephants and a large cavalry. Kalhana records his fiendish pleasure in rolling elephants down a precipice (*Smith*, pp. 317, 319). After his defeat in 528 A.D., Hiuen Tshang says he treacherously usurped Kashmir and oppressed the Buddhists (*Smith*, p. 318). A demon killed the tyrant Kalkiraja with his thunderbolt and Kalkiraja then fell into hell there to suffer for countless ages. Hiuen Tshang refers to Mihirakula's fate in similar terms. 'For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution' (*Smith*, p. 319). So Mihirakula is identical with Kalkiraja and ruled from 502 to 542 A.D. The accession of Toramana who succeeded Budhagupta (499 A.D.) dates 500 A.D., and he thus ruled only for two years, since Toramana was the father of Mihirakula (Gwalior Inscription of Mihirakula's 15th year, *G.I.* No. 37), and since the Eran Boar inscription of Toramana (*G.I.* No. 36) dates in his first year. So the figure 52 found on Toramana's silver coins corresponds to 500 A.D., the initial year of his reign and yields us 448 A.D., as the exact date of the foundation of the Huna empire in the Oxus basin (*Smith*, p. 316). In 565 A.D., Khusru Anushirwan of Persia finally destroyed the power of the Huns (*Smith*, p. 321). Raghu omits to defeat the Kushans who were ruling in Kabul from 40 A.D., when Kozulo Kadphises, the first Kushan King of India, conquered it (*Smith*, p. 251) to 450 A.D. when Kidara crossed the Hindukush and dispossessed them (*Smith*, p. 274; *J.R.A.S.* 1913, p. 933). The *Raghuvamsa* is not therefore earlier than 450 A.D. Raghu omits to defeat the King of the Surasenas, but Sunanda takes Indumati to him also. He is said to be the lamp of both his parental families (VI. 45) and to have been born of the Nipa (*i.e.*, Kadamba) family (VI. 46). So he was a viceroy of Mathura under the Guptas and related to the Kadambas. The Talagunda inscription of Kakusthavarman dated in the 80th Kadamba year (*Epi. Ind.* VIII, pp. 24—36) which refers to the Satakarnis as having formerly worshipped there, and which on palæographical grounds Kielhorn assigns to Circa 400—600 A.D., says that the Kadambas were originally Brahmans of Ahicchatra so called from their tending a Kadamba tree near their home, that a member of the family Mayurasarman, who had gone to the Pallava city Kanchi for study, defeated the Pallavas and became ruler on the west coast, and that Kakusthavarman married his daughters to Guptas, of which he would speak proudly only when the Guptas were powerful *i.e.*, from 340 to 500 A.D. The Pallavas did not hold Kanchi between 340 and 450 A.D. If Kakusthavarman. dates

500 A.D., Mayurasarman dates 420 A.D., when there were no Pallavas at Kanchi. Again, since Kakusthavarman is not earlier than 400 A.D., Mayurasarman is not earlier than 320 A.D. On the other hand, Mayurasarman is not later than 340 A.D., after which date the Pallavas had lost Kanchi. It is probable that Mayurasarman took advantage of the confusion caused by Samudragupta's southern expedition to set himself up as an independent ruler. This would place Kakustha who gave his daughters to the Guptas in 420 A.D., and if such a daughter had a son, it is probable that he would have been provided for as a viceroy at Mathura in 450 A.D., in which case he could be said 'to shed lustre on both his parental families (Gupta and Kadamba)' and to have been 'born of the Nipa family' and Raghu would not be made to defeat the King of Mathura. The Nipas are mentioned among the post-Andhra dynasties in the Puranas (*Pargiter*, p. 65). Sunanda in referring to the Kalinga King says 'In the company of this King rove thou along the seashore murmurous with palmtrees, thy drops of sweat stolen by winds that waft the fragrance of cloveplants from distant islands of the sea' (VI. 57). The reference here to the Spice islands is unmistakeable, and since the Hindus from Kalinga emigrated to Sumatra only in 75 B.C., this fact shows that, in any case, Kalidasa did not live in the centuries B.C. From all these facts, we infer that the *Raghuvamsa* was composed in 450 A.D., and since the *Raghuvamsa* was his last work, and the title of his earliest work *Kumarasambhava* was perhaps chosen purposely as a compliment to Kumāragupta, when Kartikeya, Subramania or Skanda would otherwise equally well serve the purpose, we may conclude that the whole of Kalidasa's literary career falls within the limits of Kumaragupta's reign (413—455 A.D.).

The authenticity of the Ritusamhara and the Kumarasambhava, Cantos VIII to XVII.—Seven works are usually ascribed to Kalidasas (1). The four poems *Ritusamhara*, *Kumarasambhava*, *Meghasandesa*, and *Raghuvamsa*. (2) The three plays—*Malavikagnimitra*, *Vikramorvasiya*, and *Abhignanasakuntala*. The authenticity, however, of the *Ritusamhara* and the last ten cantos of the *Kumarasambhava* is doubtful. The *Ritusamhara* is not ascribed to Kalidasa in any work except in the late compilation, Vallabhadeva's *Subhashitavali* (which in Nos. 1674 and 1678 ascribes *Ritu*. VI. 16 and 19 to Kalidasa). Vallabhadeva and Mallinatha who have commented on the *Kumarasambhava*, *Meghaduta* and *Raghuvamsa* have not thought fit to comment on it. Mallinatha clearly seems to imply that he knew of only three poems of Kalidasa when he says मङ्गिनाथकविः सौम्यं मन्दात्मानुजिह्वक्षया । व्याचष्टे कालिदासीयं काव्यत्रयमनाकुलम् ॥ (Introd. to comm. on *Raghu* 5). There is a tradition that when Kalidasa returned from the temple of Kali, his princess-wife asked him अस्ति कश्चित् वाग्विशेषः and that thereupon he composed in order three poems

beginning with अस्ति (*Kum.*), कश्चित् (*Megha*), and वाक् (*Raghu*). Even this tradition takes no account of the *Ritusamhara*. There remains, therefore, only the argument based on Vatsabhata's inscription *i.e.*, that, in the Mandasor inscription (473 A.D.), verse 31, Vatsabhata imitates *Ritu*. V. 2 and 3. It is admitted that there is no identity or even resemblance in phrasing. As regards the ideas, the ideas common to both are that the winter is agreeable to men because it confines them to warmed rooms in the company of lovely women and that it is a season in which one does not wish for cool places or cooling appliances, and these are obviously so commonplace as to preclude the idea of borrowing both ways. Two other ideas are found only in the inscription *i.e.*, that in the winter the fish lie low down in the water and the waterlilies are bitten by frost. Thus there is no ground for thinking that Kalidasa wrote the *Ritusamhara*. Sitarama who has supplemented Mallinatha's commentary on the *Kumarasambhava* says Mallinatha commented only on seven cantos, and that therefore he completed Mallinatha's commentary by writing a commentary on the remaining ten cantos, which he has done (Introd. to Sitarama's commentary on *Kum.* VIII. 2). So the commentary on *Kum.* VIII ascribed to Mallinatha was unknown to Sitarama and is therefore spurious. It is inconceivable that if the remaining ten cantos of *Kumarasambhava* were in existence in Mallinatha's time, he would have left them uncommented upon, especially as, in his introductory stanza 5 to his commentary on *Raghuvamsa*, he says he has commented on all the three works of Kalidasa. It cannot be argued that Mallinatha did not live to complete his commentary on *Kumarasambhava* since he lived to write a comm. on *Magha* in which he refers his readers to his previous commentaries on Kalidasa's works (commentary on *Magha* XIII. 24). The cantos VIII to XVII are not quoted from in early works at all. But Visvanatha Kaviraja (who, since he mentions Allauddin who died in 1316 A.D. and since a Jammu MS. of his *Sahityadarpana* dates 1384 A.D., lived in the latter half of the 14th century A.D. and was thus a contemporary of Mallinatha), in his chapter on Doshas blames Kalidasa for describing at length the Sambhoga Sringara of Mahadeva and Parvati, and this description is found only in *Kum.* VIII. This only shows that *Kum.* VIII was just beginning to be recognised as Kalidasa's by some in 1350—1400 A.D., while others, including Mallinatha, refused to recognise it as genuine. The latter view is probably the correct one since the rhetoricians before Visvanatha do not blame Kalidasa for the same fault, thereby indicating that canto VIII too did not exist in their time as part of the *Kumarasambhava*. Thus Kalidasa was not the author of *Kum.* VIII to XVIII.

The evolution of Kalidasa's works.—An apprentice poet of India, where

the movement of seasons is marked and varied, would naturally try his hand first at descriptive poetry, and the story of the *Kumarasambhava* is merely a peg on which Kalidasa hangs his description of the beauty and the grandeur of the Himalayas. The poem, with its title suggesting a reference to Kumara-gupta, aims at poetising the theme of the birth of the national War-God who freed the gods from the domination of the Asuras, but Kalidasa, finding that he had aimed too high and that his poetic powers were as yet incommensurate with the magnitude of the task he had undertaken, abandons it before it is completed, but closes it auspiciously enough with the marriage of Mahadeva and Parvati. The chief obstacle that the gods had to overcome was Mahadeva's disinclination to marry. Now that he has been persuaded to do so, and the marriage is an accomplished fact, the poet might well leave us to imagine that Kumara was born in due course and freed the gods. Then, under the patronage of Skandagupta at Ujjain, the poet studies the history of his native land, sees the dramas played at the festivals, and is himself filled with the desire to compose a drama. He would glorify his Malva, and therefore chooses the life of the only bright period of its history before the time of Skandagupta *i.e.*, the viceroyalty of Agnimitra for the theme of his drama, since from 58 B.C. to 390 A.D. Malva was under foreign domination. He intends this drama as a compliment to his patron, since Agnimitra, like Skandagupta, was the viceroy of his father in Malva (*Mal.* V). The prologue clearly shows that he was already a poet (*i.e.*, had composed the *Kum.*) but his fame was not as yet widespread and that in the dramatic field, this was his first attempt and therefore he had to contend against the reputation of previous dramatists like Bhasa, and justify his new attempt to write a drama when Bhasa and others were already in possession of the field. Yet he is confident of his success as a dramatic artist. The well deserved success emboldens him to choose a semi-divine theme from the legends he had read, *i.e.*, the mythic story of Pururavas for the plot of his next drama. The prologue to this play shows him confident that his work will be appreciated even by those who have seen the dramas of former poets, thereby indicating that this was his second drama. In this play, the poet shows a profound knowledge of the human heart, but he is still in the outer court of love. The fourth Act reveals to us the highest flights of his poetic fancy, but it lacks passion. He calls the play *Vikramorvasiya* as a compliment to his patron Skandagupta Vikramaditya of Ujjain. Then in the *Meghaduta*, in the perfect fusion of music, imagination and feeling, he reveals to us for the first time the secret of love, how it is purified and strengthened by separation and suffering, but he has not yet shown us how to bring it under control and mould it as an instrument for nobler purposes. He suggests to us in this poem that the

heart, the messenger of love from the human soul to its God, is not to allow itself to be tempted and detained on the way by the beauty and sensuous joys of the human life. This knowledge of love brings the poet the knowledge that man's mission in life is service to humanity. This idea he poetises in the *Sakuntala*, his next work, in which Kalidasa shows his consciousness of his fame by saying that the audience being learned could be pleased only by a new work of his. The play opens with the hero and the heroine skimming on the surface of life, as yet unconscious of life's deeper purposes. They are brought together quite casually, and are united in informal wedlock by a mere transitory wave of passion fanned up by the beauty of natural environments. But they have yet to learn that the deeper union can be brought about only by suffering, that suffering is necessary to strengthen character, that sacrifice of the ego is absolutely essential for the fruition of life's purposes, that love must be transfigured by humanity and that marriage itself is service of God. They are, therefore, separated by Durvasa's curse, and when by the separation and the recovery of the ring their attention has been forcibly drawn to the true nature of the mutual relation, and all that it implies, and it is no longer possible for them to forget each other or allow themselves to be drawn away by mere impulse, they are again closely knit together in Marichi's hermitage but now as the parents of Bharata, the all absorbing hope of humanity. In *Raghuvamsa*, the last flight of his poesy, he aims at nothing less than the descent of God on earth, its preparation and its aftermath. Wiser by experience, he feels his powers incompatible with the elevation of his theme (*Raghu* I. 2). Yet he desires the fame of a *Kavi*, a seer who reveals to men God's deeper purposes, not that of a mere poet. (*Raghu* I. 3). So he will follow in the footsteps of those who have gone before on the same path (*Raghu* I. 4). Raghu, Aja and Dasaratha are each of them born as the fruit of penance or sacrifice. Such were the preparations for the descent of God on earth. Rama was the ideal of all human relations as son, brother, friend, and husband. But after his death, Ayodhya fell into ruins, the people were all the more miserable for the happiness they had enjoyed when God kept them company, and Rama's own descendants steadily declined until in Agnivarna all the work of Rama was undone. And on his death, the future is all uncertain and the people vacillate between hope and despair. Things are bad enough to bring down another incarnation on earth, yet they dare not hope for it. It is too good to be true. Why has the Rama incarnation failed? Because it was too high and unbending. It was too unrelated to human needs and limitations. Only the story of mind could follow the ideal set up before them, while human nature is essentially weak, the playing of all the forces of life. So a new incarnation was needed to show that of our very

weakness we can forge our strength, that our very imperfections are the promises and necessary conditions of perfection. So it is that the poet suggests in the last stanza of the *Raghuvamsa* that the people expectant await the new birth, the promised dawn of perfection as yet only hidden in the womb of the future, and while they wait poised securely in their divine heritage, they order their lives, which belong truly to God alone, in accordance with the sage counsels of men ripe in spiritual wisdom. This interpretation will not seem far fetched, if we remember that in this poem Kalidasa's purpose is ethical, that he constantly reminds us of it by such similes as those in I. 20, IV. 60 and V. 4, that there is in this poem a more pervading consciousness of Rama's divinity than in the *Ramayana*, and that his other works were gradually preparing the way for this message.

THE FORMATIVE INFLUENCES OF KALIDASA

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"A poet is born, not made" says the old proverb: and embodying as it does an undeniable truth, it emphasises and even exaggerates that truth like every other proverb. It is a truth effectively put so that it is bound to catch the attention, but it is not the complete truth. For poetic genius is indeed god-given but it can thrive only when it is nourished and cultivated; it can grow only under favourable circumstances and in suitable environment, so that even the greatest of poets that we know of are as much made as they are born.

Examples are not rare of poets in every literature who are said to have dreamed something during the night and found themselves poets the next morning; or of great devotees of God, who illiterate as they were, became inspired during the time of worship and gave vent to unconscious poetry which gushed forth like the continuous flow of a fountain or spring. But in this critical age we cannot help doubting the truth of such miracles.

Tradition on which we have to depend mostly for the biography of Kalidasa represents him as one of those "Sons of Song" who are miraculously endowed with the gift of writing poetry. It is very doubtful whether the story is not a later invention suggested by the poet's name, but according to it Kalidasa was an illiterate shepherd who by a stroke of fortune obtained the favour of Kali and became the world-famous poet. Anything can be believed so far as the gift of poetic genius goes because it is not within the power of man to grant it. Nor is it given to human beings to know to whom and under what conditions it is granted by the All-knowing. But if it is the object of the story to make us believe that Kalidasa's poetry is a mass of instinctive singing and that Kalidasa was never a student, was never an apprentice in his art, but jumped from the state of an illiterate boor to that of the scholar-poet, nobody can help laughing at it and pronouncing it silly. For there is every reason to believe that Kalidasa was as much of a hard student as he was a genius, or in other words, the poet Kalidasa was as much made as he was born.

A man of genius is as much the creation of the time as he himself is the creator of it. Shakespeare can be mentioned as a parallel instance from English literature. He was undoubtedly influenced by the dramatists like Greene and Marlowe who preceded him. Further, it is also well known that he borrows plots for his dramas from various sources. But he breathes

such a life into them as they never had, weaving into them such ravishing poetry that we do not mind if he is not original in the sense that he invents all the plots and characters. We witness the same phenomenon in Sanskrit literature. Kalidasa is the sum total of the poetry and the drama that preceded him plus his genius. He, like Shakespeare, does not hesitate to borrow plots for his dramas and poems. As I will point out in the following pages, he freely borrows even ideas and phrases if they suit his purpose. But, he so develops them, amplifies and beautifies them, touches them with the magic wand of his genius that we exclaim at once "Here is poetry!" "Here is beauty!"

Until sufficient light is thrown on the dark gap in the early history of Sanskrit literature we cannot trace all the formative influences of Kalidasa with fulness and accuracy. But I have ventured to do it, however incomplete the treatment may be.

Kalidasa has himself told us that he had masters before him. In the stanza,

अथवाकृतवाग्दारे वंशेस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥

he seems to acknowledge completely the superiority of the poets like वाल्मीकि and व्यास. In dramas, though he says आत्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः," "प्रथितं यशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य कृतौ किं कृतो बहुमानः" ॥ still, the tone of "पुराणमित्येव न साधुसर्वं न चापि सर्वं नवमित्यवद्यम् । संतः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्गजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेय बुद्धिः" goes to show that he was not without confidence in his own ability, though he was far from being over-confident and given to boasting like Bhavabhūti compared to whom Kalidasa is modestly itself. A commentator on his Megha-sandesha annotating on the line दिङ्नागानां पथिपरिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् says that the critic Dignaga was accusing Kalidasa of plagiarism. All that tradition hangs on the peg of Dignaga may not be reliable but this observation of the commentator taken with the internal evidence available in the works of the poet go to show that Kalidasa had pioneers before him, that his works are not entirely the outcome of the boon which Kali was pleased to bestow upon him.

The earliest works that have had their influence on him are undoubtedly the *Ramāyana* and the *Mahabharatha* and that is what suggests itself to students of Kalidasa, seeing that his *Raghuvamśa* deals with Rama and his race, and *Sakuntala* with an episode from *Mahabharatha*. There is no doubt that these poets' poets have had a tremendous influence on him especially Valmiki, but he is not indebted much for the *matter* of either of his works to these great epic writers. He has changed the plot and characters in the *Sakuntala* story in so many important respects with the keen and

admirable insight of a dramatist that he may be said to have almost invented it; and there is reason to believe that he followed in his *Raghuvamsa* not *Ramayana* but some of the Puranas like Vishnupurana, Vayupurana or Padmapurana or some other book which was a common source for all these including Ramayana, which may now be extinct. For the geneology of the race of Raghu given by Kalidasa entirely differs from that given in the Bala-kanda of Ramayana and the history of Rama itself as sketched by Kalidasa differs in so many respects from the account given by Valmiki. There are passages in various cantos of Raghuvamsa which closely resemble Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita. It is very difficult to decide which of them is indebted to the other though Cowell says that "Kalidasa's finished picture was suggested by the rough but vigorous outlines in Asvaghosha" Whatever the source of the *matter* for Raghuvamsa may be, this is undeniable that the melodious and majestic verses of the Ramayana were ringing in his ears when Kalidasa wrote his Raghuvamsa, and if we select a few stanzas from Ramayana (say Ayodhya Kanda) and a few from Raghuvamsa, and place them side by side, it would be practically impossible to distinguish the authorship.

The influence of the Puranas on Kalidasa is more clearly marked in the Kumarasambhava than Raghuvamsa. Here he not only borrows the general threads of the story from the Siva and Brahma puranas but does not hesitate to take even words and phrases as they are in the original, if need be. He takes up the story as given in these puranas, but eliminates those portions that may be tedious or unnecessary, changes the metre according to his purpose, borrows words and phrases but always retouches them, amplifies and beautifies them embellishing them with his उपमा and अर्थान्तरन्यास. Here are a few illustrations :—

Siva Purana, Uttarakhanda, Ch. XIII :—

मेना तया पूर्णनिशेशवक्त्रया स्फुरत्प्रभामंगलया रराजह ।

यथा विदूराचलभूमिरञ्जसा घनोत्थयारलशलाकयामुने ॥

Ku. Samb. I. 24 :—

तया दुहित्वा सुतरां सवित्री स्फुरत्प्रभामंडलयाचकाशे ।

विदूरभूमिर्नवमेघशब्दादुद्भिन्नया रलशलाकयेव ॥

Cf. स्फुरत्प्रभा ... चकाशे with स्फुरत् ... रराजह. and विदूरभूमि ... शलाकयेव with यथाविदूरा etc.

S. P. Uttarakhanda, Ch. XIII :—

तां पार्वतीत्याभिजनाच्च नामतो जुहावतद्वन्धुजनः स्वभावतः ।

मात्रानिषिद्धा तपसे यदातु सा ययाबुमारव्यां भवभक्तिभाविनी ॥

Ku. Samb. I. 26 :—

तां पार्वतीत्याभिजनेन नाम्ना बंधुप्रियां बंधुजनो जुहाव ।

उमेति मात्रा तपसोनिषिद्धा पश्चादुमाख्यां सुमुखी जगाम ॥

Observe the close resemblance between the two stanzas in matter and manner,

S. P. XIV :—

किंकरिष्यामि देवेन्द्र समाज्ञापयसत्वरम् ।

Cf. K. S. III., 3 :—

आज्ञापयज्ञातविशेष पुंसां लोकेषु यत्ते करणीयमस्ति !

What a difference ! The one is surely an epic, an itihasa or Purana and the other Kavya ! It is not possible to explain, but the poetry is there ! Its effect cannot be denied. 'Can you minister to a mind diseased ?' is poetry. But 'can you nurse the sickbed ?' which means the same thing is dull prose. It shows why Sanskrit rhetoricians have given as much importance to शब्द as अर्थ in defining Kavya.

Cf. similarly :—

S. P. XIV :—

क्रोधं संहर हेदेव इति यावत् वदन्ति खे । इन्द्रादिः सकलादेवास्तावद्भ्रंसी चकार तम् ॥

with *K. S. III., 72 :—*

क्रोधं प्रभो संहरसंहरोति

यावद्भिरः खे मरुतां चरन्ति ।

तावत् स वह्निर्मवनेत्रजन्मा

भस्मावशेषं मदनंचकार ॥

A slight touch, and what a difference is the result ! He has made fire the subject. We see it assume a fierce aspect and reduce Kama to ashes ; we see before us the heap of ashes : mention of the name मदन after भस्मावशेषम् produces such a grand effect. We first see a heap of ashes ; then hear of the name ; so there is only blank and disappointment ! What a fine illustration of suggestion !

How charming is the conversation between Uma and Shiva ; the basis is in the purana but how different ! How Shiva tries to frighten Uma ! He has given the most vivid and concrete picture of himself and his abode. What excellent poetry there !

The last stanza of the 5th canto of Kumarasambhava illustrates every-one of these points :

S. P. XVI :—

क्रीतस्तवाहं दासोहं घोरेणतपसामुन्ना ॥

K. S. V., 86:—

अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताग्निं तवासिदासः क्रांतस्तपोभिरितिवादिनि चंद्रमौलौ ।

अहाय सा नियमजंक्कुममुत्ससर्जङ्गेशः फलेनहि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते ॥

The metre suddenly and aptly changes. Siva has thrown off his mask and is smiling. Quite different is Uma. She was irritated enough by him and wanted to get rid of him but now he appears in his true form. Conflicting emotions take possession of her heart. She was not able to control herself and that is beautifully described by the poet with one of his beautiful similes.

K. S. V., 85:—

मार्गाचलव्यतिकराकुलितेव सिन्धुः शैलाधिराजतनया नययौ नतस्थौ ॥

This verse is so beautiful and it so well illustrates the method of Kalidasa's workmanship on such rough material that I do not want to bring in further instances.

In fact, the seven cantos of Kumarasambhava contain such exquisite poetry that one should read and enjoy it; one does not know what to quote and what to omit if one undertakes the work of pointing out the beauty of the poem.

From what I have stated so far, it is abundantly clear how much Kalidasa is indebted to the Sivapurana in regard to matter and manner. For the same poem he is also indebted to the Brahmapurana for that portion of this poem which follows the marriage of Uma. But it is comparatively little and uninteresting to follow up with illustrations and so I omit it.

Until a few years ago, Bhāsa had remained a mere name to us as Soumilla and Kaviputra do even to-day. But now we know as much of him as we know of Kalidasa. He was the "dramatists' dramatist," if we can say so, and Mr. Ganapathi Sastri says "There is no path trodden by great poets like Kalidasa, but is pioneered by Bhāsa."

Indeed "the poetical eminence of Bhāsa has been the mainstay of poets like Kalidasa and Sudraka." There is no doubt that in drama Kalidasa followed up the path trodden by his predecessors, one of the most important of whom must evidently be Bhāsa; but with it we are not concerned here. Kalidasa owes not a little to Bhāsa in the province of poetry. He again and again takes hints, borrows ideas, words and phrases from Bhāsa's works and gives them the same treatment as the Puranas. I shall only give two or three instances here. Kalidasa takes up the hint from "सर्वशोभनीयं सुरूपं नाम" which occurs in प्रतिमानाटक and develops it into सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापिरम्यं मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्मलक्ष्मीं तनोति । इयमधिक मनोज्ञावल्कलेन्यापितन्वा किमिव हिमधुराणां मंडननाकुतीनाम् ॥ in his Sakuntala. It appears before our eyes full of beautiful colours. Again in the same drama occurs the

stanza अपृच्छ पुत्रकृतकान् हरिणान् द्रुमांश्च विन्ध्यं वनं तव सखी दधीतालताश्च॥ He has devoted in his Sakuntala one full stanza for the creepers and trees and another for the पुत्रकृतकहरिण. The stanzas are so well known and their beauty is so clearly seen that I need not dwell upon them here. There is one more example which is equally good and convincing. In Bhāsa's Swapnavāsavadatta we read चक्रारपंक्तिरिवगच्छति भाग्यपंक्तिः ॥ The same idea is expressed in मेघसंदेश in a slightly different and more developed form as

कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकांततोवा । नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

Talking of Meghasandesha the beautiful lyric poem which stands unique in the Sanskrit Kavya literature one does not know how to praise it adequately. What enchanting poetry it is! How original in conception and construction, even though, throughout the work the influence of Ramayana can be clearly observed! Some critics hold that in Meghaduta, Kalidasa gave a poetic form to his experience of a melancholy period in his life even as Shakespeare is supposed to have done in his sonnets. It would not be a sin to wish that the whole of his life were one of continuous misery if it could only inspire the poet to write half a dozen more poems like Meghasandesha!

I have referred only to very few of his works but from what I have stated so far, it is clear that Kalidasa was a careful student of the Puranas and Kavyas that existed before him and that they had much to do with his poetry. A good student of his works cannot help asking the question "what was Kalidasa not a student of?" He was a student of the Vedas and Shastras as well. In what a simple, clear and yet beautiful way he has put the highest truths of the Vedanta in the tenth canto of Raghuvamsa! But would he have been the great poet that he is, in spite of his vast learning, if he was not a poetic genius, if he was not born a poet?

SAKUNTALA

BY T. LAKSHMINARASIMHA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

Source of the Play.—Kalidasa drew the outlines of his plot from the Upakhyana in the *Mahabharata*.

The story in the *Mahabharata* is a simple one. King Dhusyanta of Hastinavati goes out a hunting and in pursuit of an antelope enters a hermitage where he finds a sylvan maid beaming with all the freshness of the first bloom of youth and straightway falls in love with her. The lady reciprocates the feeling and the twain are married according to the Gandharva fashion. The King then returns to his capital and appears to forget all this sylvan escapade of his and when Sakuntala accompanied by her son and other Tapasas come to the capital to claim her own she is repudiated. But when the whole party were about to turn back in disgust and wrath, the King explains the circumstances and with the consent of his *Samagikas* formally proclaims Sakuntala as his queen and owns the boy Bharata as his son. And the couple, as all old stories say, lived happily ever afterwards.

Kalidasa's alterations.—The creative and romantic mind of Kalidasa would not be satisfied with this prosaic version and recoiled with horror at this repudiation of a wife and son without any just or sufficient cause which would make the King a gay Lothario and a moral coward unfitted for the role of a Nayaka for dramatic purposes. In order to ennoble his hero he interposes the curse of Dhurvasa in Act IV merited in a way by Sakuntala for neglecting the most sacred of all duties not only of that time but perhaps of all time—*Athithi Satkhara*. When her mind was led away in contemplation of the cause for delay in her husband's not sending for her, this curse is the cause of forgetfulness in the King so that no moral turpitude or responsibility rests on him for the repudiation. The *Vishapa* is also given by the mollified rishi and the crux of the whole play is made to turn upon the loss of the ring which was the instrument which would bring back recollection of past occurrences to Dhusyanta's mind. Still further to heighten the effect, Kalidasa contrives to keep Sakuntala away from the King's reach in the celestial regions for a while and plunges him into the most poignant grief imaginable till at last after another supernatural intervention he finds Sakuntala and her child and, in the presence of a Maharishi they are again united.

Effect of such alterations.—How far these additions and alterations make for increased effect have to be considered. Acts I to III may be taken to be almost the story in the *Mahabharata* and Act V, the finale according to the puranic story. But Kalidasa has Acts IV, VI and VII in addition which have no prototype in the *Upakhyana*. Act VI mainly describes the grief of the King at his conduct which are more or less vain regrets; Act VII the final meeting and reconciliation of the lovers; Act IV is a most touching act full of extremely simple pent-up natural feelings and moralisings and advice. I am almost tempted to say that to a mind which delights in turning over the natural, pure and uncontaminated feelings of a human heart where every sentiment strikes a responding chord in another human being, this act is a whole drama in itself—a drama of real, simple and natural life.

Criticism on the alterations.—Having thus briefly adverted to the source from which Kalidasa drew his plot and the embellishments his creative genius enabled him to put in, it remains to take the drama itself and place before you some of the best ideas expressed in the various acts. All Hindu dramatists had to follow some *ipse dixit* canons of evolution of a plot and Kalidasa was no exception and he had therefore, whether the plot needed it or not, to put in all the *rasas* and all descriptions of mountains and forests and fauna and to introduce the supernatural agency.

It is somewhat difficult to see how the plot is bettered or what manner of connection there is in Indra's seeking Dhushyanta's help. It may serve the purpose of belauding the puissance of the King but has little connection with the plot. Puissance is not what is wanted, for as Iago says "a man may smile and smile and yet be a villain." What is wanted is the contrite King wandering over the whole world in search of the woman he had wronged to make amends. Instead of that he does nothing but sits and bemoans the loss and it is only by chance that he comes across his child playing with wild animals and beholds his long lost, much wronged, but well beloved Sakuntala, through the occurrence of a supernatural event.

Opportunity however has been taken to throw some light on the condition of the times by referring to the spring time festivities and the duty of the King in cases of *lescheat*. The noble-minded hero in the midst of his anguish is made to declare that he would be a son to the childless in his State.

Rasas in the play.—There are not many humorous incidents in the play and the only characters that attempt at any humour are the Vidushaka and the Fisherman and these are flat. The play is sober and portrays the higher *rasas* of love and its kin grief or sorrow. In fact these are the two *Pradhana rasas* in the drama or more properly the only *rasa* that has been finely

developed is Shoka. Vidushaka's lament of his hard life is commonplace, the Sakhi's grief at the departure of Sakuntala is natural, Kasyapa's expression about his troubled mind at his foster daughter's going away is sublime and the King's grief at the repudiation almost amounts to frenzy. The *Vira Rasa* is shown in Act VI where the King's ire is roused at the call in distress of his friend the Vidhushaka but is not worth much. The love too as portrayed is not of the higher kind but is more or less pastoral and the course of true love does run smooth in this case.

What then has to be admired in the play?—I have so far proceeded in a *nil-admirari* spirit that you might well ask me whether there is nothing worthy of admiration in the greatest of the Indian poets. Surely there is much to be admired in the expressions, literary simplicity, the similes which are Kalidasa's forte and his own brilliant flashes of imagination which go to constitute him as one of the poets of all times and climes. It is in the literary and aesthetic side of the composition that Kalidasa soars high as does the eagle. It is here that Kalidasa shows himself in his true colors and rightly occupies his own place in the niche of fame along with Homer, Virgil, Dante and Shakespeare.

I shall give a few illustrations of some of the happy thoughts conceived and some of the similes.

It is very often seen that most of our oriental poets indulge at the beginning of their works in a little self praise, but Kalidasa is a singular exception. In the opening of the drama he makes his sutradhara give vent to the following opinion: "I do not consider my representation good or satisfactory till the learned approve of it, for the well trained mind always has some diffidence in itself." Even in *Raghuvamsa* he expatiates on the greatness of the theme and his own insignificance or inability to handle it. This is in pleasing contrast with the bombast of Bhavabhuti for instance. Like Goldsmith he thinks that there may be thousand faults in a work and a thousand things may be said to prove them to be beauties.

Then again the process of reasoning which leads Dhuryanta to decide that the forest was a hermitage is an instance of the close study of living nature. Dhuryanta is made to say from the droppings of Nivara from the clefts in trees where parrots have taken their abode, from finding stones rendered smooth and oily by being used to crush Ingudi fruit, from the way to the pond being wetted by the drippings from the bark-dress of those that have gone to it, "I conclude this to be a hermitage."

Then again his description of Sakuntala which can be summed up in the oft quoted expression "Beauty unadorned is adorned the most" and his innate confidence that his mind trained in righteousness could not go astray

and that therefore when his eyes cast loving glances at Sakuntala it was because she was a woman with whom he could lawfully wed. Again the description of the condition of a love-lorn swain as applied to himself is another happy painting from real life.

The sublime heights of poetic fancy are reached in King Dhusyanta's description of Sakuntala to his friend the Vidushaka when he says "Could it be that she was created after the creator had first made a model or could it be that she was created with the breath of quintessence of beauty? Verily she belongs to a different creation altogether".

Kasyapa's message to Dhusyanta when sending Sakuntala is quite becoming of a saint of his order and is just what a potentate in the realms of Tapas can send to a potentate of the earth. Lastly Kasyappa's advice to Sakuntala is another instance of the profound insight of Kalidasa into the every day occurrences of real life. If Polonius' advice to Laertes is a moral code for young men, Kasyapa's advice is another for young women and both put together in actual practice most scrupulously would perhaps bring in the millennium.

I have already said that simile or upama was Kalidasa's forte. I shall give but two instances of these. There is an advertisement print in colors headed "the last stand" where a stag flying from the pursuit of a lion gets to a river rushing through a deep gorge whence its further flight is not possible. From the opposite crag comes a lion to make a prey of the deer and behind is the other lion crouching to make the fatal spring. The deer looks at the blue expanse of heaven above as if to call down its vengeance with tears in its eyes while knowing the fate that awaits it the next moment and hoping against hope that the lions would miss in their spring, and gathers its haunches in as small a compass as possible so as not to offer a bigger target. This picture reminds one forcibly of Kalidasa's stanza of the deer flying as if on air with half chewed grass dropping from its mouth casting furtive glances at the chariot following and trying to contract its haunches so as not to offer a surface to the arrow that would be let fly.

Another exquisite simile is where the Rishi admonishes Dhusyanta not to let fly his arrow and compares the action to the putting of one spark in a bale of cotton.

Such are some of the thoughts that have suggested themselves to me from a reading of the drama and to those who cannot read the drama in the original Sanskrit I would recommend the excellent Kannada translation of the drama by the late Mr. Basappa Sastry.

THE ESSENTIALS OF SANSKRIT CULTURE.

A Paper read before the Mythic Society.

BY RAO BAHADUR K. KRISHNAIENGAR, B.A., L.C.E.

KINGLAKE, while speaking of the Arabian Nights, says "These tales have so much freshness and vivacity, so much of the volatile European character, that they could not have owed their origin to a mere oriental who, for *all creative purposes*, is a mummy, dead and embalmed although he might once have been living." Many thanks to him even for this contingent concession. Then again, remember the beautiful epithets which are applied to us by our brothers of the West, *viz.*, the dreamy East, the mystic East, the sophistical East, the superstitious East, the unpractical East, the pessimistic East and what not.

I leave it to the audience to judge, after they have listened to the subject matter of my paper, how far these characterisations are justified.

I find that our Venerable President, with characteristic French refinement, has already administered me a rebuke. He says that I have chosen "a subject as comprehensive as it may be made interesting," that is to say, I have chosen a most indefinite subject and my chances of making it interesting are very remote indeed. I must thank him for having prepared your minds for what you are to expect from me.

I am not a specialist in any branch of Sanskrit learning. I am only a dabbler and a dilettante. I find I would have done well to have styled my lecture "Some Tit Bits of Sanskrit culture." The essentials of this culture can be compressed into a quarter sheet, or, expanded into a quarto volume of more than 500 pages, if we have to examine and analyse the main facts in the Sanskritists'.

(1) Laboratory of ideas :—(Ideas are as infinite as the sea sand.)

(2) Workshop of beauty :—(Myriads of sublime and beautiful things as wide as the Ocean.)

(3) Palace of fine living :—(Ideals and standards as deep as the sea) which have been laid down as a comprehensive gauge for comparing civilisations and cultures. I shall follow a more modest course.

2. The word for culture in Sanskrit is "*Panditya*," which is the quality of possessing *panda*, and what is *Panda*? It is defined as ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರನಿಷ್ಕೃಷ್ಟಜ್ಞಾನ *i. e.*, knowledge ordered and organised and satisfying the conditions of scientific method.

3. The Sanskritists broadly conceived knowledge to relate either to "*Sastram*" or "*Acharam*." They defined the first-or *Sastra* as embodying the *Tatvas*, truths, laws, injunctions, that hold good irrespective of country, time and circumstance. The Great Sankaracharya has stated that *Sastras* are intended to establish ಕಾಲದೇಶವಸ್ತು ಪರಿಷ್ಕೇದ ಶೂನ್ಯಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ or irrefragable, eternal and universally true conclusions. *Acharam* is the result of accidental idiosyncracies, country, climate, association, etc., of a people; some of them founded on reason, convenience and utility; others the result of superstition and pure chance.

4. Culture with the Sanskritist was a critical and thorough knowledge of the fundamental *truths of life*. A man might know all the *ologies* and *ics* in the world and stuff his head with millions of unrelated facts. He could not be styled a pandit, a professor or proficient or cultured man, unless the principles of his science or knowledge were organised and co-ordinated for the purposes of his conduct or happiness and joy of his life.

5. A good bit of the present day science, literature and art based on Western culture consists of unrelated and disorganised matter. There is not that coherence, sequence and consistency which one would expect in the superstructure of our edifice. Professor Sir J. Bose in his address, dedicating the National Research Institute, has prominently noted this defect in our present day education. We are all wandering, like planets, on the circumference ಪರಿಧಿ and do not turn our inward eyes to the centre or (ಕೇಂದ್ರ) as enjoined by the Indian ideals in the Upanishads.

6. There is a bewildering confusion of branches of knowledge in modern times. Centrifugal tendencies are prevalent. Unification, proper foundation and focussing to a common centre or fundamental principle are needed.

7. It is the province of culture to enunciate these fundamental principles or root ideas pervading our intellectual life, conduct and sentiments. This is what is meant when culture is vaguely defined as *criticism of life* or *capacity for life values*. The culture of a race, therefore, embodies the conceptions of the race as regards the universe, individual life, social life, political life, religious life, its philosophy and metaphysics. The cultural results of all races can be exhibited under the above headings by proper analysis and classification.

It will at once be apparent that it is impossible to enter into all these detailed truths in the various branches of Sanskritic culture and their exposition, in the course of a short lecture lasting for three-fourths of an hour. I shall just indicate and briefly describe a few of the fundamental truths which go to form the warp and woof of that culture by referring to a few

epigrammatic, cool, unimpassioned words, clauses and couplets which embody the fundamental conceptions of the race in the three realms of knowledge, emotion and action which constitute our life activities. I can only attempt the merest outline, frame work, or skeleton and allow you all to fill in the details for yourself by further study, if you feel inclined to do so.

8. **First principles.**—Intelligence dawned, experience of centuries was built up. The most fundamental belief of all mankind, *viz.*, “I perceive; therefore there is an external world. I remember and reason; therefore there is a soul or spirit in me” was the first truth perceived.

This was the first broad generalisation, the grandest and the most obvious of truths, *viz.*, existence of matter and of mind. ಚಿತ್. ಅಚಿತ್. ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ಪುರುಷ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಂ ಪುರುಷಂ ಜೈವವಿಧ್ಯನಾದೀಲುಭಾವಸಿ ||

These are the two primordial and eternal verities in the universe, the residue of the final analysis of the contents of our knowledge. Unconditioned mind is known as Purushottama.

9. The second truth perceived was the variety in forms and qualities and the constant flux, transmutations of material objects in the universe.

ವಿಕಾರಾಂಶ್ಚ ಗುಣಾಂಶ್ಚೈವ ವಿದ್ಧಿಪ್ರಕೃತಿಸಂಭವಾನ್ ||

10. A third conception was that there were possibilities of endless manifestations of matter acted upon by spirit in nature and by the action of the human mind.

ನಾಂತೋಸ್ತಿಸುಮುದಿವ್ಯಾ ನಾಂವಿಭೂತೀನಾಂಪರಂತಪ ||

Given matter and mind, there is no end to the innumerable varieties of manifestation possible out of the creative acts of mind or spirit with the help of matter. This, you will note, is a generalised truth applicable to creation in nature or artificial creation of the human mind in the varied industrial and fine arts.

11. The fourth truth evolved was about the conservation of matter and of energy, ages before a Joule or a Helmholtz was born. This also involved the idea of circulation of matter and spirit or incarnation and rebirth.

ನಾಸತೋವಿದ್ಯತೇಭಾವೋನಾಭಾವೋವಿದ್ಯತೇಸತಃ ||

ವಾಸಾಂಸಿಜೀರ್ಣಾನಿಯಥಾವಿಹಾಯನವಾನಿಗೃಹ್ಣಾತಿನರೋಪರಾಣಿ ||

ತಥಾಶರೀರಾಣಿವಿಹಾಯಜೀರ್ಣಾನ್ಯನ್ಯಾನಿಸಂಯಾತಿನವಾನಿದೇಹೀ ||

Broadly translated, this is tantamount to saying, “out of nothing, nothing can come. That which exists can never be destroyed.”

12. These truths are so very commonplace that I may be laughed at, if I try to place them seriously before this learned audience for acceptance.

But allow me to remind you that these four truths are the four corner stones of, or the steps of the ladder of the human mind to, the temple of universal religion. These conceptions lie at the bottom of all religions and must command acceptance of all, at all times and places, in spite of the

difficulties of philosophic speculation about the nature of these things in *themselves*. They are set forth in three of the most exquisite stanzas supposed to have been uttered by Sri Krishna in his Bagavadgita or Song Celestial. They form the fundamental axioms as laid down in Sanskrit works, and are intended to deal an emphatic deathblow to all atheism and scepticism.

13. **Entities of knowledge.**—To the Sanskritist, there were in final analysis, only three entities of knowledge ಚಿವಚಿದೇಶ್ವರ. These are also known as ರಹಸ್ಯತ್ರಯ or the three mysteries—mind, matter and God or Supreme Spirit. The modern scientist adds number, time, space and force, to these three. To the Sanskritist, space, time, number are not entities, but only forms of the understanding or limitations which condition all our finite thoughts. In as much as there are numerous wonderful laws and facts relating to properties of number, time and space, we must acknowledge that these are abstract entities ; matter, force, life, mind are manifest entities.

These are the *eternal verities* whose mysteries or *tatvas* have always formed the subject of man's quest after knowledge. Each and every advancement in knowledge must relate to the discovery of new truths in one of these domains, and there is nothing that cannot be comprised under one or other of these entities. Listen to what Professors Balfour Stewart and Tait say in their "Unseen Universe." "In spite of the difficulties of philosophic speculation, the man of science may rest contented that, far beyond in one sense and in another ever intimately present with us, lie the mysteries of true metaphysic, time, space, number, matter, force, life and mind.

14. The Sanskritists broadly divided the objects in nature into ಚರ, ಅಚರ moving and non-moving ಸ್ಥಾವರ, ಜಂಗಮ fixed and moving, but they seem to have forgotten the difficulty of classifying Sun, Moon and Stars. They were probably ಚರ as they are supposed to be a body of ಅಭಿಮಾನದೇವತಾ or spirits.

15. Their long observation, introspection, generalisation led them to conclude that impermanence was the mark of the universe of matter. It was ಕ್ಷಣಿಕ-ಅನಿತ್ಯ or was subject to the three qualities of ಸತ್ತ್ವ, ರಜಸ್, ತಮಸ್ and they expressed this by stating that ಪ್ರಪಂಚ, or nature or universe of matter is ಸತ್ತ್ವರಜ ಸ್ತಮೋಗುಣಾತ್ಮಕ or subject to three states ಸೃಷ್ಟಿ, ಸ್ಥಿತಿ, ಲಯ. This is one of their grandest generalisations. Whether organic or inorganic substances, thoughts or feelings, acts, individuals, families, societies, states, empires, world systems, in fact, everything in the universe is subject to this eternal law ; a period of coming into existence, a period of activity and growth, a period of dissolution. In these three words are indicated or hallmarked the essential nature of this *phantasmagoria* or *dream grotto*, as Carlyle calls it, which is known as the world or universe. This phrase contains in a nutshell the truth of the law of *evolution* ಅವಿರ್ಭಾವ and *involution* ತಿರೋಭಾವ of

the modern scientist. Later on, the Sanskrit mind invented a presiding deity for each of these three functions or states and called them ತ್ರಿಮೂರ್ತಿ। ಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಸ್ಥಿತ್ಯಂತಕ ರಣಾತ್। ಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಿಷ್ಣುಶಿವಾತ್ಮಿಕಾಂ॥ ಸಸಂಜ್ಞಾಂಯಾತಿಭಗವಾನ್ ಏಕವಿವಜನಾದನಃ।

16. In contrast to material objects was our mind or spirit or the consciousness whose identity and continued existence in space and time, we recognise as life not by any logic or argument, but by one of the most fundamental of intuitions. “ತರ್ಕಾಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾನಾದನ್ಯಥಾನುಮೇಯ ಮಿತಿಚೇತವಮಪ್ಯವಿಮೋಕ್ಷಪ್ರಸಂಗಃ। recognised the ancients.

By centuries of close observation, study and induction, they were led to the belief that the spirit that animates man is a part of Divinity or Supreme Spirit which creates, sustains and dissolves these worlds at its will, and which is the universal consciousness out of which our individual consciousness emanates and which is the sea of all life. Its nature is summed up by ಸತ್ಯಂ, ನಿತ್ಯಂ, ಅನಂತಂ, ಜ್ಞಾನಂ, ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ, the true, the eternal and the endless entity whom time and space do not bind. It is the fountain of all life, all power, knowledge and affection or moods. This is summarised by the phrase, i.e., ಸಚ್ಚಿದಾನಂದಮೂರ್ತಿ. Our life which is an emanance of this spirit has also these corresponding qualities of cognition, desire and action from the tiniest ant to the mighty man. ಮಮೈವಾಂತೆಜೀವಲೋಕೇಜೀವಭೂತಸ್ಯ ನಾತನಃ ಯಥಾಸತಃಪುರುಷಾತ್ಕೇಶಲೋಮೂನಿ। ಯಥಾಗ್ನೇವಿಷ್ಣುಲಿಂಗಾತಥಾಅತ್ಮನಃ ಸರ್ವಾಣಿಭೂತಾನಿ ಜಾಯಂತೆ. (Mandukya Upanishad.)

Wherever life exists, there would always be the three concomitants or instruments of life—cognition, desire, action ಜ್ಞಾನ, ಇಚ್ಛಾ, ಕ್ರಿಯಾ, or the intellect, emotion and will of the modern psychologist. The universal spirit as well as the individual spirits are therefore characterised as ಸಚ್ಚಿದಾನಂದಸ್ವರೂಪ. The same idea is expressed by Keble in his Christian year.

“When round thy wondrous works below,
My searching rapturous glance I throw
Tracing out knowledge, power and love
In earth or sky, in stream or grove.”

17. Next to the conception of the existence of nature and mind was a firm conviction that a relation can always be brought about between the two, and the mind can experience various feelings, or can be affected in various ways or have various kinds of moods or ಸ್ಥೂರ್ತಿ—by its contact with varieties of matter or by introspection within itself and can express by gestures, words or conduct the results of such affections. Thus there were three eternal mysteries whose complete and reasoned out knowledge constitutes the essence of all culture in any people, race or country. These mysteries are known in Sanskrit books as ತ್ರಿಪುಟ. Every concept is the meeting place of ಜ್ಞಾತಾ, ಜ್ಞೇಯ, ಜ್ಞಾನ the mystery of *mind*, mystery of *nature*, mystery of *art* or expression.

All phenomena, knowledge of these phenomena and the expression of their effects upon our minds, these three form the sum total of the existence of our individual lives from birth to death, whether one is an ordinary peasant or the most cultured savant or pandit. Human life is a cinematographical play of these three mysteries. This truth is also applicable to all times, to all countries, and to all races and has been beautifully expounded by Oscar Wilde in his *De Profundis*. The Sanskritists invented a mnemonic word to remind us of these three mysteries that are present in every act of our cognition, ಓಂ compounded of A. U. M. or *Pranava* and have written volumes on its significance known as *Pranava Vada*.

Life with the Sanskritists, comprised three provinces :—

- I. Knowledge of nature and of mind. Physics and metaphysics, ದರ್ಶನ.
- II. Application of this knowledge for action and conduct of our lives. Ethics. ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ.
- III. Its utilisation for cultivation and satisfaction of our emotional nature. Aesthetics. ಕಾವ್ಯಾಲಂಕಾರ.

18. The root ideas comprised in these three provinces will now be set forth.

II. *Province of Knowledge*.—The Aryan Seer broadly classified it into two kinds :—

ಅಸರಾವಿದ್ಯಾ or gross or material knowledge.

ಸರಾವಿದ್ಯಾ or Spiritual or Supreme knowledge.

This classification is very ancient and appears in the *Upanishads*. The Hindu Aryans fully recognised that there are the immense and infinite varieties of things in nature and that a proper knowledge of the wonders of creation always tends towards humility, reverence and worship. "Through nature to nature's God" was clearly understood by them.

19. They recognised the field of natural knowledge was boundless and no single human being could ever hope to become a proficient in all the branches of material knowledge. ನಹಿಸರ್ವಸ್ಸರ್ವಂ ಜಾನಾತಿ.

ಏಕಸ್ಮಿನ್ ಜನ್ಮನಿ ಏತಮೇವಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ | ಬಹುಶಾಖಾಃ ಅನಂತಾಶ್ಚ ವಿದ್ಯಾಃ |

ಅನಂತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ಬಹುವೇದಿತವ್ಯಂ | ಅಲ್ಪಶ್ಚ ಕಾಲೋ ಬಹವಶ್ಚ ವಿಘ್ನಾಃ ||

They knew full well Art is long, life is fleeting.

They understood that each individual should thoroughly study or specialise in the branch best suited to enable him to discharge his ಧರ್ಮ, or *function in life* with the greatest advantage and effect. They never undervalued or despised this professional knowledge and its necessity for securing the conveniences and comforts of life through hard concentrated work or ಕರ್ಮ ಯೋಗ "whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all your might and main." They enjoined this ಯೋಗ or concentration in every one of our activities

to do to the best we can. Yoga was with them ಕರ್ಮಸುಕಾರಲಂ or professional excellence. The whole trend of modern Vedanta as exemplified in the lives of the three great Acharyas is to establish free will and individuality, while advocating widest possible enquiries and investigation of all conditions of our action. Knowledge is for intelligent and whole hearted action in life. Perfect and excellent execution of every one's duties was the ideal of Yoga. ಇತಿತೇ ಜ್ಞಾನಮಾಖ್ಯಾತಂಗುಹ್ಯಾನ್ಯುಕ್ತತರಮಯಾ | ವಿನ್ಯುತ್ಯೇತದಶೇಷೇಣ ಯಥೇಚ್ಛ ಸಿತಥಾಕುರು ||

20. This knowledge in all its branches was to be derived by observation, ratiocination, initiation and study. The three gate ways of knowledge are :— ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷ, ಅನುಮಾನ, ಶಬ್ದ. Or every branch had to be methodically studied and organised under four heads :—

ಅಧಿಕಾರ.—Necessary qualifications for the study.

ವಿಷಯ.—Subject matter.

ಸಂಬಂಧ.—Relation to other branches.

ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ.—Utility.

These were known as ಅನುಬಂಧ ಚತುಷ್ಟಯ. The effect of such study was enjoined to be deepened and widened by four methods or ಅವಸ್ಥಾಚತುಷ್ಟಯ.

ಅಧೀತಿ.—Self-study.

ಬೋಧಾ.—Teaching and initiation of others.

ಅಚರಣ.—Practice of the precepts.

ಪ್ರಚಾರಣ.—Spreading and evangelisation.

21. Knowledge was never for knowledge's sake as often proclaimed by some of our modern University Professors. It was for furnishing us with the standards to discriminate between good and bad, right and wrong, true and false, real and unreal, fact and fiction, beauty and ugliness. It was to endow us with the ability to guide our knowledge, our actions and our emotions into right paths by proper discrimination. This was known as ಸದಸದ್ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ, which is the end and aim of all true culture and this is what is meant when culture is described by vague phrases as *criticism of life* and capacity for *life values*. Not only was it intended to give us the ability to discern but the will to practise the good and the true and reject the bad. This was expressed by saying that its object was to lead us to ವಿನೇಕ or ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ or wisdom. Knowledge had therefore an *ethical basis* for the Sanskritists. It is for the adoption of the good, the rejection of the bad in the three domains of life-activity, namely, our beliefs, our actions and our emotions. This was expressed by saying it was for

ಹೇಯವಿಸರ್ಜನ | ಉಪಾದೇಯಸ್ವೀಕಾರ ||

“ ತಸ್ಮಾತ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಂತೆ ಕಾರ್ಯಕಾರ್ಯವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಿತಾ ||”

says the Gita.

22. Knowledge is thus for action or life and not life for knowledge. It is for the accomplishment of the four ends of human existence ಪುರುಷಾರ್ಥ-

ಚತುಷ್ಟಯ epitomised as ಧರ್ಮಾರ್ಥಕಾಮಮೋಕ್ಷ. Proper performance of one's functions or work in life is ಧರ್ಮ.

Earning the requisite means for convenience and comfort or the acquisition of wealth is ಅರ್ಥ ಕಾಮ comprised all equipments, trappings, surroundings and materials for happiness and enjoyment. Lastly, ಮೋಕ್ಷ was for salvation. Even when engaged in the first three pursuits and amidst the lowest trivialities or busiest moments one should devote a fraction of the time at least for study and contemplation of the nature of human soul, its potencies, its patencies, its vicissitudes and methods of its salvation. This you will admit is an all embracing and very rational ideal. It has nothing of fatalism or mere asceticism in it. ಅಪರಾವಿದ್ಯಾ or material sciences embraced all branches of study necessary for health, wealth and happiness.

23. They never neglected their body but enjoined cleanliness, continence and right attitudes. ಶರೀರಮಾಧ್ಯಂಖಲುಧರ್ಮಸಾಧನಂ. For the most efficient discharge of one's functions as regards every one of the ends of human existence, one must keep his body in health and strength. With his high forehead, broad shoulders, long arms, muscular legs, the old Pandit typified a creature who ate at two in the afternoon, married at twenty-five in his life or later and this not as a means of carnal enjoyment but from for a pure motive, perpetuating the family and affording satisfaction to the *Pitris*. He lived beyond the allotted span of three score years and ten. He presented a striking contrast to the dyspeptic and purblind pigmies we turn out of our modern Universities. The Sanskritist recognized, with the modern Scientist, that the first condition of success in life is to know how to be a good animal.

24. That he did not neglect hard work for earning a decent and comfortable livelihood is also evident from the fact that most of the industries and arts which could be developed by manual skill and intelligence were carried to the highest pitch of perfection known in the world. They took a pride in their manual or industrial arts, so much so that every man aspiring after real culture was enjoined to be a specialised expert in as many as practicable, of the sixty-four arts or ಚತುಷ್ಟಸ್ತಿಕಲಾ into which they had classified their manual and fine arts. The literature on the subject of these handicrafts and industries is of immense extent and remains to be studied and understood before we can reproach the Sanskrit civilisation as unpractical.

25. They were not also insensible to the charms of the fine arts such as music, eloquence, poetry, painting, architecture, sculpture. These are called ಸುತಲಾ or fine arts. It is only our sheer ignorance of the principles of these arts and elaborate scientific treatises on these subjects that make us undervalue the contribution of the Sanskritist to the sum of human knowledge in these branches. All these related to ಅಪರಾವಿದ್ಯಾ.

26. ಪರಾವಿದ್ಯಾ concerned itself with spiritual matters, with the first principles or the foundations of all knowledge, emotion and action, philosophy or metaphysics. This taught them that the supreme object of individual life was to bring about a harmony between knowledge, desire and action. Concentrated efforts at right knowledge, concentrated will to act up to the best dictates of that knowledge and to cultivate rightful emotions, and concentrated devotion to the supreme spirit evident everywhere around us was proclaimed to be the *summum-bonum* of individual life. This was the practice of ಯೋಗತ್ರಯ, ಜ್ಞಾನಯೋಗ, ಭಕ್ತಿಯೋಗ, ಕರ್ಮಯೋಗ. The so-called Yoga was the unification or harmonising or blending of the three qualities of the soul. The Great Vaishnava Saint Yamunacharya in his ನೀತಾರ್ಥಸಂಗ್ರಹ, or epitomised essence of "Song Celestial" has expressed this most beautifully.

ತ್ರಯಾಣಾಮಪಿಯೋಗಾನಾಂ | ತ್ರಿಭಿರನ್ಯೋನ್ಯ ಸಂಗಮಃ ||

27. The preliminary discipline of life for acquiring this power of concentration was through ತ್ರಿಕರಣಶುದ್ಧಿ—cleansing and refinement of the three instruments of life—ಮನೋವಾಕ್ಯಯ word, deed and thought. These are most beautifully summarised in three stanzas of the Bhagavatgita. The object was to cultivate sincerity or oneness in word, deed and thought. This will show to you that the ancients had a direct objectivity about them, and were not the so-called sickening self-introspecting mystics.

The subject-matter of each of these modes of discipline was constituted into a Sastra or department of Science. Science of language was perfected by Panini, Vararuchi, Patanjali who have written monumental and exegetical works on the subject. The discipline of the body and its maintenance in the most efficient condition were achieved by following the dictates of Purva-mimamsa. The discipline of the mind was controlled by Patanjali's Yoga Sutras.

28. The result of the study and practice of the injunctions of these three sciences was what has been so beautifully described by that demi-God of pellucid expression, I mean the late Professor Huxley, "that man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will and does with ease and pleasure all the work that as a mechanism, it is capable of ; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order, ready like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind ; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience, who has learnt to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vile-

ness, and to respect others as himself." These disciplines, like the Talmudian practices of the Jews, always tended to the expansion of life and its longevity and they produced ಶಾಂತಿ, ಶಮ, ದಮ, the three most essential qualities for all efficient physical or mental work—peace or tranquillity, love or charity, obedience or discipline. The same idea has been expressed by that miracle of intellectual urbanity, the late Cardinal Newman. "If learning does not breed obedience, chastity in word, deed and thought and love, it is no learning." Without this preliminary discipline and the practice of concentration, no blessedness or happiness is possible.

ನಾಸ್ತಿ ಬುದ್ಧಿ ರಯುಕ್ತ ಸ್ಯ ನಚಾಯುಕ್ತ ಸ್ಯ ಭಾವನಾ ।

ನಚಾಭಾವಯತಶ್ಯಾಂತಿ ರಶಾಂತಶ್ಯ ಕುತಸ್ತುಖಂ॥

29. This is also a universal truth. So far for a few of the fundamental and important truths of the Sanskritists in the *domain of knowledge*.

In the province of action, the ideal of the Sanskritist is pursuit of *Dharma*, duty, function or ordained work.

The stability of individual life, of families, societies, states and empires, was conceived to rest on Dharma.

ಧರ್ಮೋ ವಿಶ್ವಸ್ಯ ಜಗತಃ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾ ॥

ಧರ್ಮೋ ರಕ್ಷತಿ ರಕ್ಷಿತಃ ॥

30. No single English word can express all that is meant by Dharma. Each unit, section, or organization must do its allotted work properly, promptly and in the most efficient form, on definite principles of justice and righteousness. Definition of functions was most rigidly insisted upon. Chaos, confusion and *pralaya* always resulted, when unhampered competition and confusion of functions were advocated.

31. Next was *Karma* or action in relation to the Dharma of each man, society or organization. Ceaseless activity and motiveless performance of Karma were enjoined.

ಕರ್ಮಣ್ಯೇನಾಧಿಕಾರಸ್ತೇ ತೂಫಲೇಷು ಕದಾಚನ ।

"Mine the deed. Thine the meed" was the spirit in which action had to be done.

The performance of Karma in a right spirit was laid down.

32. It was recognised that no action went without a corresponding reaction. Action and reaction were always equal.

The Sanskritist was a firm believer in the *Law of Karma*.

ಅನಶ್ಚ ಮನುಭೂಕ್ತವ್ಯಂ ಕೃತಂ ಕರ್ಮ ಶುಭಾಶುಭಂ ॥

The doer of the deed must suffer. There is no escape from this law. He believed in ಪಾಪ, ಪುಣ್ಯ,—sin and righteousness and in the Law of Nemesis.

ಅತ್ಯುತ್ಕಟೈಃ ಪುಣ್ಯಪಾಪೈರಿಹೈವ ಫಲಮಶ್ನುತೇ.

"Thou shalt eat the fruit of thy deed wicked or righteous here on earth."

33. The results of one's bad deeds would pursue him in all his wheel of rebirths till their ವಾಸನಾ, or influence was wiped out by corresponding amount of good deeds. This Law of Karma and rebirth had a wonderful effect on the national temperament. "It was explanatory of the past, consolatory in the present, mandatory for the future."

34. He fully recognised that an intensive life can never be extensive. Moderation and the golden mean in all things were enjoined.

ಅತಿಸರ್ವತ್ರವರ್ಜಯೇತ್.

35. *Social and Political Acitivity.*—Why all this knowledge, discipline and cultivation of right attitudes of mind? It is not to enable each one of us to boast "I am, Sir Oracle and when I ope my lips let no dog bark. All these are gifts or powers to help the onward and upward evolution of society to which we belong.

The great Vyasa summarised this when he said

ಶ್ಲೋಕಾರ್ಥೇನಪ್ರವಕ್ಷ್ಯಾಮಿಯದುಕ್ತಂಗ್ರಂಥಕೋಟಿಭಿಃ ||
ಪರೋಪಕಾರಃ ಪುಣ್ಯಾಯಪಾಪಾಯಪರಪೀಡನಂ ||

All this travail, racking of the brain and discovery of truths is for the creation of sympathy and love towards our fellow creatures and to alleviate their suffering and increase their happiness. The Great Vyasa has said

ಸಂತೋಷಂಜನಯೇತ್ಪ್ರಾಜ್ಞಃತದೇವೇಶ್ವರಪೂಜನಂ ||

36. Seeking of pleasure and avoidance of pain are the fundamental characteristics of all life; and all of us must contribute our mite towards cheerfulness, gladness and joy of our fellow creatures. What does Mrs. Humphry Ward say in her book "Robert Elsmere" "Heaven is here visible and tangible to human eyes and hands when self is lost in loving, and in the reverent and tender contemplation of the beauties of nature."

The service of man and society is also enjoined by the Gita wherein it is called ಲೋಕಸಂಗ್ರಹಂ.

37. Imitation of God's love to his creatures and work in identification with the cosmic life of Eswara is enjoined. Co-operation, co-ordination and conciliation were constantly taught to abate the evils of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. These were emphasised by holding up our own body as the finest example of these qualities of co-operation and co-ordination (ಆತ್ಮಾಪವ್ಯ).

38. Co-operation of functions, subordination of the individual idiosyncracies to the common good was the ancient ideal. Sciences or individual branches of knowledge were to be organised and co-ordinated, not only for the purpose of individual life but also for family life, industrial, social, political and moral progress. Co-operation of functions and unity of purpose in which each individual performed his Dharma or work was the ancient ideal of

society and not unhampered competition and confusion, and want of definition of functions which always results from too much of self-assertion and individualism.

IV. Province of Emotion.

39. Next in the Province of Emotion, the Sanskritists had also great discrimination. They first recognised that covetousness was at the bottom of all sin and tended to the ruin of our souls. ಲೋಭಮೂಲಾನಿಪಾಪಾನಿ

ತ್ರಿವಿಧಂನ ರಕಸ್ಯೇದಂ ದ್ವಾರಂನಾ ಶನಮಾತ್ಮನಃ
ಕಾಮಕ್ರೋಧಸ್ತಥಾಲೋಭಃ ತಸ್ಮಾದೇತತ್ತಯಂಹ್ಯಜೇತ್.

40. They always urged the necessity for avoidance of the six enemies of man and causes of the damnation of his soul.

ಅರಿಷಡ್ವರ್ಗ.—ಕಾಮ, ಕ್ರೋಧ, ಲೋಭ, ಮದ, ಮೋಹ, ಮಾತ್ಸರ್ಯ, and their prayer was to be

ಸ್ತಸ್ತಿಪ್ರಜಾಭ್ಯಃ ಪರಿಪಾಲಯಂತಾಂ ನೃಯ್ಯೇನಮಾರ್ಗೇಣ ಮಹೀಂಮಹೀಶಾಃ ||
ಗೋಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣೇಭ್ಯಃ ಶುಭಮಸ್ತು ನಿತ್ಯಂ ಲೋಕಾಸ್ತಮಸ್ತಾಃ ಸುಖಿನೋಭವಂತು ||

This they adopted because harbouring bad emotions engendered undesirable attitudes of *our mind*, which they truly interpreted as the chief cause of our misery or happiness.

ಮನಃವನ ಮನುಷ್ಯಾಣಾಂ ಕಾರಣಂಬಂಧಮೋಕ್ಷಯೋಃ

“Mind is its own place and in itself can make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell.”

41. Cultivation of *graces of character* and avoidance of *harmful blemishes* have been most inimitably described under ದೈವಸಂಪತ್ and ಅಸುರೀಸಂಪತ್ in the sixteenth chapter of the Bhagavatgita, which for excellence of diction, beauty of language and pure spirituality remains, I make bold to assert, unsurpassed by *anything in any literature of the world*.

42. They knew the psychological doctrine of ideas producing actualities some times.

ಯಾದೃಶೀಭಾವನಾಯತ್ರ ಸಿದ್ಧಿರ್ಭವತೀತಾದೃಶೀ.

43. They demonstrated to the world that an ideal of poverty, contentment, plain living and high thinking, can alone produce a society wherein the formula of equality, liberty and fraternity can be realised. It can never exist in a society which makes possession of riches the standard of worth. A Brahmachari could realise this because he was initiated into the formula ಭವತಿ ಏಕಸ್ತಂ ದೇಹಿ and had no great desires to satisfy. The ancient Brahman pitched his wants very low and the community at one period realised equality, liberty and fraternity and managed to enthrone culture and character and not mere cash.

V. Lastly as regards their Philosophy of Life.

44. Science, sympathy and service were the watchwords of the Sans-

kritic culture as of every other culture worth the name in the world, in each of the main divisions of our life activities.

45. It is only when we attain the above ideal and when a spirit of compassion and love dawns upon us and we radiate it towards our fellow beings and creatures and cultivate a feeling of self-sacrifice and resignation, that we can realise fully the revelation and inspiration of the supremacy of the spirit and its *universal pervasion*. We shall then realise the cry of the Upanishads. ತೇನವನಾತ್ಮಣಾಗ್ರಮುಪಿನಚಲತಿ || Without it not even a blade of grass moves.

46. Listen to the feelings that crawled on the encyclopaedic mind of the Great Vyasa (one of the five greatest intellectual giants of India), belonging to the Vasishta clan, after a life devoted to the study of science, history, ethics, philosophy, literature and what not.

ಅಲೋಡ್ಯಸರ್ವಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಣಿವಿಚಾರೈಚಪುನಃಪುನಃ||

ಇದಮೇಕಂಸುನಿಷ್ಪನ್ನಂಧೈಯೋನಾರಾಯಣಸ್ಸದಾ||

Similarly, the Great Yamuna sums up the burden of life in Bhagavat-gita or Song Celestial in one stanza

ಸ್ವಧರ್ಮಜ್ಞಾನಮೈರಾಗ್ಯಸಾಧ್ಯಭಕ್ತೈಕಗೋಚರಃ||

ನಾರಾಯಣಪರಂಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾಗೀತಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರೈಸಮೀರಿತಃ||

47. The Sanskritists divided life into two stages, ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಮಾರ್ಗ, ನಿವೃತ್ತಿಮಾರ್ಗ *i.e.*, path of activity and path of renunciation. While this was based on natural conditions, the predominance of the one or the other decided its character. As already explained, attention was paid to all the four ends of human life except in the last stage; ಮೋಕ್ಷ was for freedom from trammels, when a sense of satiety had come upon him and a spirit of resignation and renunciation took hold of him, and a full sense of the vanity of all earthly glory and the supremacy of his own soul dawned on him. Then he felt the full force of Gray's Elegy—

“The pomp of heraldry, the pride of power,

All that wealth, beauty ever give,

Await alike the inevitable hour,

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

This was ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ or wisdom, the result of ಮೈರಾಗ್ಯ acquired after having truly valued the sordid realities of existence.

ಅನುರಾಗಾದ್ವಿರಾಗಃ

48. For the two stages, special periods were set apart. These periods were known as ಅಶ್ರಮಚತುಷ್ಟಯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಚರ್ಯ ಗಾರ್ಹಸ್ಥ್ಯ ವಾನಪ್ರಸ್ಥ ಸನ್ಯಾಸ.

In the first two predominated the *pravritthi* path and in the last two *nivritthi* path. The child spent his first eight years in play and in growth, next sixteen years were spent in the acquisition of knowledge of various kinds and in proper discipline for the formation of habits and attitudes of mind. He

was drilled and disciplined, and this discipline gave a fixity to his character and conduct and a refinement, the result of proper regimentation. He was not the gentleman at large of modern educational methods. Then between twenty-five and fifty, he married and kept a household, practising a life of neighbourly charity and extending hospitalities to guests and enjoyed happiness and practised moderation. After satiety in the earthly joys, was the period of ವಾಸಪ್ರಸ್ಥ—life of unselfish service. Lastly, came the period of ಸನ್ಯಾಸ or period of illumination, which dawns on our faculties by the appreciation and realisation of the three identities. The identity of individual and universal souls, ಜೀವಾತ್ಮ, ಪರಮಾತ್ಮ ಸಮತ್ವ by ಜ್ಞಾನಯೋಗ; ಸಿದ್ಧಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಸಮತ್ವ or equanimity under success or failure, of performance of duties unaffected by results by ಕರ್ಮಯೋಗ; ಸರ್ವಭೂತಸಮತ್ವ, or the equality of all individual souls by Love or Bhaktiyoga.

49. It is only when this vision of the three identities is fully realised and recognised that one can be called a ಪಂಡಿತ or the illumined ಪಂಡಿತಾಃ ಸಮ ದರ್ಶಿನಃ॥ ಸಮತ್ವಯೋಗ ಉಚ್ಯತೇ॥

ಅಯಂ ನಿಜಃಪರೋವೇತಿ ಗಣನಾ ಲಘುಜೇತಸಾಂ ।
ಉದಾರಚರಿತಾನಾಂತು ವಸುಧೈವಕುಟುಂಬಕಂ ॥

50. Catholicism, cosmopolitanism, universal brotherhood are possible only then. It will be the advent of the millennium or ಮೋಕ್ಷ of souls. It is by adoption of ಸಾಧನಚತುಷ್ಟಯ, ನಿತ್ಯಾನಿತ್ಯವಸ್ತುವಿನೇಕ, ಇಹಾಮುತ್ರಫಲಭೋಗವಿರಾಗ, ಶಮಾದಿಸಾಧ್ಯಸಂಪತ್ ಮುಮುಕ್ಷುತ್ವ that you can attain ಮೋಕ್ಷ.

51. As long as desire and covetousness prevail in this world, this is impossible. Individuals and nations will go on warring. The ಮೋಕ್ಷ for the individual is when he minimises his desires, says the Gita,

ವಿಹಾಯಕಾಮಾನ್ ಯಸ್ಸರ್ವಾನ್ ಪುಮಾಂಶ್ಚರತಿ ನಿಸ್ಪೃಹಃ ।
ನಿರ್ಮಲೋ ನಿರಹಂಕಾರೋ ಸಶಾಂತಿಮಧಿಗಚ್ಯತಿ ॥

52. The realisation of this ಶಾಂತಿ is *bliss*, or unperturbed tranquillity of soul and freedom from the ocean moan of *ennui*. Greatest importance was attached to this ಶಾಂತಿ. It was considered necessary for the proper efficiency of all ceremonies and sacraments so much so that the request ಸ್ವಾಮಿನಃ ಮನಸ್ಸಮಾಧೀಯತಾಂ “calm and attune your minds” was made at the commencement of every ceremony to the presiding priests and the thrice repeated formula ಶಾಂತಿ ಶಾಂತಿ ಶಾಂತಿ was uttered at the conclusion of all ceremonies. This was intended as a sort of invocation for three-fold harmony or [ಅಧ್ಯಾತ್ಮಿಕ-ಅಧಿಭಾತಿಕ-ಅಧಿದೈವಿಕ] peace within one's self-peace with his surroundings and peace with the universal spirit. Acts performed in a perturbed state of mind lost all efficacy.

As an aid to this acquisition of tranquillity and *right attitude* of mind, they called in the aid of ಮಂತ್ರಂ, ತಂತ್ರಂ, ಜಪಸ್, ತಪಂ, ಪಾರಾಯಣಂ, ಪುರಾಣಂ. The first ಮಂತ್ರಂ is intended as a help for concentration of attention, or salvation of our mind in its literal significance. The second ತಂತ್ರಂ was, as its name implies, intended for keeping our body in an efficient condition.

Justices Paramasivier and Woodroff may be consulted on the esoteric effects of these practices. We need not laugh at all these, when we believe in the efficacy of our favourite tobacco pipes to calm our minds.

The Sanskritists hated nothing more than the modern speed-lust with its inevitable neurasthenia and nervous break-down.

53. However much they might have advanced in physical science, nations of the West are still in the adolescence of the race, have just commenced to learn the alphabets of psychic phenomena and have come to recognise with Lord Kelvin that the phenomena of life and mind far transcend the bounds of physical science. The realms of psychic life have been explored by the mystic minds of the East. The mine of information on this subject remains to be examined and the golden nuggets therefrom have to be collected by us.

54. It is the realisation of the supreme soul or spirit in nature that forms the inflorescence of culture. "Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" says the Bible. The Great Sankaracharya summed up this supremacy of mind or spirit in an imperishable stanza of his—

ಸಖಿ ಮನಃ ಕಿಂ ಬಹು ಜಲ್ಮಿತೇನ ಸಖಿಮನಸ್ಸಧ್ಯಮಿದಂ ಹಿತಘ್ನಂ ||
ಯಸ್ಸಾರಭೂತಂ ಕಥಿತಂ ಮಯಾತೇ ತ್ವಮೇವತತ್ತ್ವಂಗಗನೋಪಮಂ ||

55. Our minds are as infinite as the sky ; constantly marvel at your minds, its potencies and patencies and try to realise the prophet's cry, "I am wonderfully and fearfully made." It is only by educating our minds to the highest possibilities of thought, emotion and action, we can realise the infinite wisdom, the infinite power and infinite love of the universal soul, or the Sea of Life. Through the finite to the infinite, through nature to nature's God must be our motto and what is this world soul, listen to Sankara again—

ಜಾಗ್ರತ್ಸ್ವ ಸುಷುಪ್ತಿಷುಸ್ಥುಟಿತರಾಯಾ ಸಂವಿದುಜ್ಜೃಂಭತೇ
ಯಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾದಿ ಪಿಪೀಲಿಕಾಂತ ತನುಷುಪ್ರೋತಾ ಜಗತ್ಸಾಕ್ಷೀಣೀ
ಸೈವಾಹಂ ನಜದ್ಯಷ್ಟವಸ್ತುರಿತಿ ದೃಢಪ್ರಜ್ಞಾಪಿ ಯಸ್ಯಾಸ್ತಿಚೇತ್
ಚಂಡಾಲೋಸ್ತು ಸತುದ್ವಿಜೋಸ್ತು ಗುರುರಿತ್ಯೇಷಾ ಮನಿಷಾಮಮಂ ||

"Know thyself", said the ancient philosophers. "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his soul", asked Jesus of Nazareth. ಮಂತಾರಂತೋವಿಜಾನೀತೆ "Who can know the knower" asked the Upanishads. We shall all be confirmed suicides if we don't cultivate our spiritual nature and are content to lead the life of beasts.

ಪ್ರಾಪ್ಯಚಾಪ್ಯುತ್ತಮಂಜನ್ಮಲಬ್ಧ್ವಾಚೇಂದ್ರಿಯಸಾತ್ಯವಂ ||
ನಕರೋತ್ಯಾತ್ಮಹಿತಂಯಸ್ತುಸಭವೇದಾತ್ಮಘಾತಕಃ || ವಿಷ್ಣುಪುರಾಣಂ.

56. Gentlemen, you will thus recognise the universal applicability of these conceptions of the fundamentals of all true culture to all individuals, societies, races and nations. There is no harmful tradition here but the most exquisite conceptions of the ideals and truths—the result of profoundly reason-

ed out investigations by the intellects of antiquity. They show the solidarity of mankind. These conceptions form the unchangeable and adamantine truths, the eternal verities, which have received the homage of the best minds of all nations, all races, of all times. All these are forgotten by us now-a-days, but they never forget and forgive us. It is to keep alive our interest in all that concerns man's life, history, progress and aspirations on this planet that our society has been formed, and it is but fitting that we should all listen to and discuss the results of the thought of the ancient Aryan in his wonderful progress on this beautiful continent of India.

57. Let me not be misunderstood as a partisan of any particular culture in the world. It has been recognised that there are five ancient cultures to which all the other cultures in the world may be traced. These are :—

- (1) The Indu Aryan or Sanskritic culture.
- (2) The Semitic culture including the ancient Egyptian, Chaldean, Babylonian, Arabian and Hebrew cultures.
- (3) The Iranian or Persian culture.
- (4) The Greek and
- (5) The Roman cultures.

Recent researches have established that the Indian culture based on the Vedas is anterior to all other cultures. It should be remembered that in ancient times, other nations had free intercourse with India and came into contact with its culture. It is now established that an Aryan tribe known as Mittani was settled in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris and spread its culture to the surrounding countries. There is ample reason to assume that all these ancient cultures have a common origin, and are more or less allied to the *vedic* culture. This, however, is a vast subject and cannot be tackled at the fag end of my paper. All that I can say with confidence is that the ideas of Indian culture are of universal application and form the fountain head of all that is noble in the thoughts of mankind.

The effects of a study of all these ancient cultures is identically the same and what is this? Listen to Mathew Arnold, the prince of English critics.

"I know not how it is but the commerce with the ancients appears to me to produce in those who constantly practise it a steadying and composing effect on their judgment, not of literary works only, but of men and events in general. They are like persons who have had a very weighty and impressive experience. They are more truly than others under the empire of facts and more independent of the language current among those with whom they live." This effect, gentlemen, is known as *संस्कार*, the soothing, cleansing, refining and steadying *influence* of these ancient cultures which embody the true valuation of material and spiritual matters and the ossified experience of life of past

generations of men. If you are agreed that such influence is worth striving for, then I would unhesitatingly submit that every one of us may become the votary of any one of these ancient cultures along with our professional studies for earning our daily bread.

I commenced my papers with Kinglake and to be alliterative I shall close it with Kipling. In his well-known couplet he says

“East is East and West is West;
And never the twain shall meet.”

Kipling does not seem to have read his Geography aright, and, if he had, he evidently forgot it when he wrote the couplet. Too far East is West and too far West is East. If he had written,

“East is West and West is East
And ever the twain shall meet”

he would have given utterance not only to a geographical truth, but also to a profound cultural truth that the best minds of the East and of the West are in agreement about the fundamental truths of nature and of human life, in spite of metaphysical quibbles and that there is a solidarity amongst mankind. Fundamentally the East and the West are the same in passions, thoughts, capacities, hopes, fears and aspirations in spite of a thousand and one superficial differences of colour, creed, country and customs. The recognition of this truth and its manifestation in our conduct is the culmination of culture.

REVIEWS.

The Beginnings of South Indian History.

BY S. KRISHNASWAMY AYYANGAR, M.A., M.R.A.S., ETC., UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
OF HISTORY, MADRAS.

"THE Beginnings of South Indian History" is the title of an interesting volume, in which Prof. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar of the University of Madras has embodied the substance of the special lectures delivered by him in January and February last in his capacity as the University Professor of Indian History and Archæology. Recognizing at the outset that history depends for its materials on archæology, epigraphy and literature, he tries in the volume before us to make the ancient Tamil literature of the land yield matter for purposes of constructive history of South India. In his view, inscriptions and results of archæological research have to be supplemented by the results that a critical and systematic study of old Tamil literature would yield if the life history of the Tamil people and their land at, or before the dawn of the Christian era, is sought to be built up. The learned Professor does not forget that there is the danger of the historian reading his thoughts and feelings into the writings of the past when he exploits them for purposes of history; but he is, nevertheless, convinced and we think rightly and with reason that a careful and dispassionate study of ancient Tamil classics will throw much useful light on many a dark and forgotten chapter in the history of South India.

The period dealt with in these lectures is one in regard to which inscriptions do not assist us, and Prof. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has tried to evolve some interesting chapters in the history of that period from literary sources alone. He has for some considerable time been engaged in deducing and developing history from old Tamil literature; and naturally a large portion of the book is mainly a re-statement of what he had already said elsewhere. There is also considerable overlapping and repetition; but perhaps this is unavoidable in a series of lectures primarily intended for students. Throughout the book, the main conclusions that are attempted to be established are sought to be supported by a wealth of material afforded by the Sangam works; and even if the conclusions definitively stated by him be not accepted, his lectures here presented will convince all those that are interested in historical research, that for constructing the history of ancient South India, a close and critical knowledge of the Sangam works is essential.

Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has in the book before us sought to establish (i) that there were in the distant past "formidable Maurya invasions which went as far as the Tinnevely District itself," but that the Tamil kings shook off the foreign incubus some time before the thirteenth year of Asoka and (ii) that the third Tamil Sangam flourished in the second century of the Christian era. The alleged

Mauryan invasion of South India is the most important contribution to our knowledge of Indian history that he has made in these lectures ; and the subject therefore requires more than a passing notice. It is based on three lyrics in the *Aha-Nanuru* collection (Nos. 69, 251 and 281) and one lyric (No. 175) in *Pura-Nanuru*. These are the poems that Pandit Raghava Ayyangar has exploited in support of his view expressed in his *Cheran Sen-Kuttuvan* that specific mention is made in the Sangam works of the invasion of South India by Samudra Gupta. Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar rejects rightly, it seems to us, the suggestion that the passages in question contain any reference, specific or implied, to an invasion by the Gupta emperor : but he holds that the texts speak in "quite clear and unmistakable" language of the invasion of South India by the Mauryas, who advanced as far as the Podiyil hill ; and the advance party of the invasion was, according to him, a warlike people called Kosar or Vadugar. He even states that the passages establish that the Mauryas in their advance towards the south, cut a tunnel through a high hill that blocked their passage, so that their cars might pass without impediment ; and in this he apparently follows Pandit Raghava Ayyangar. These interesting conclusions are based upon three alleged references to Mauryas in *Aha-Nanuru*, as already stated ; and if the texts relied on are corrupt or have been misread, the basis for the Mauryan invasion of South India will vanish. The passages are found extracted at pages 89, 90 and 91 of the book ; and the expression "*Moriyar*" (மோரியர்) is found in all of them. *Aha-Nanuru*, however, is an unpublished work ; and it is not possible, therefore, to say whether the reading is correct ; and the doubt that in the circumstances may reasonably be entertained about the accuracy of the passages is enhanced when we turn to lyric No. 175 of *Pura-Nanuru*, on which also reliance is placed by Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar in support of his conclusion. The expression that he reads as "*Moriyar*" appears in Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Ayyar's well-known edition as "*Oriyar*" and that is also the reading adopted by the ancient scholiast in his commentary on *Pura-Nanuru*. The commentator actually notices an alternative reading in respect of another expression almost immediately following the word "*Oriyar*" and gives us the meaning attached to the passage by those that adopt that reading ; and in such circumstances it is only reasonable to suppose that if the reading "*Moriyar*" instead of "*Oriyar*" was current, at least as an alternative, it would have been noticed by him. The inference is irresistible that the commentator did not know of the existence of any such reading. Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar says that the old scholiast was unable to understand the reference, and so misread "*Moriyar*" into "*Oriyar*" ; but certainly if "*Moriyar*" had been used in "*Aha-Nanuru*" in three different places, in passages that are almost word for word identical with the passage in *Pura-Nanuru* that he was explaining, it is not easy to believe that he would have so completely ignored it without even noticing it as a probable, if not also a prevalent, reading. And why should the commentator be charged with ignorance of such a momentous event as the Mauryan invasion, to effect which "a huge snow-capped mountain ascending up to the firmament" (விண்ணுறகோங்கியபனியிருக்குன்றம்) had, according to the learned Professor, to be tunnelled through

and which had so much caught the imagination of Mamular and other great poets as to be sung by them in terms of almost extravagant praise, despite the crushing defeat alleged to have been inflicted by the invading army on the kings of the Tamil land at Podiyil? In spite of Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, we are inclined to hold that the substitution of "*Moriyar*" for "*Oriyar*" in the *Pura-Nanuru* lyric would render the lines almost meaningless, while "*Oriyar*" which, according to the commentator, signifies the Vidyadharas or the Lords of the Sakravala Mountains, will suit the context admirably; and further we may venture to suggest that in the extract from *Aha-Nanuru* lyric 69 also, *Oriyar* will be a more appropriate reading than *Moriyar*. The *Pura-Nanuru* lyric is a song in praise of a Tamil chieftain, who had so much endeared himself to the poet as to make it possible for the latter to affirm that if his heart should be dissected and examined, the prince's figure would be found engraved therein. The prince is addressed as the seat of Dharma (அறத்துறை) protecting his subjects both day and night with unremitting constancy, and is likened to the orb of the sun that rests on the cleft at the top of a mountain made by the wheels of a car passing to the regions beyond. The idea may be fanciful or 'far-fetched' to use Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's word, but it is a conceit familiar in Indian literature. It is a common belief that the sun in making a circuit of Mount Meru passes through a cleft in the Sakravala Mountains that surround the world; and is it unnatural that if the poet's imagination should have conceived the cleft at the top to have been caused by the wheels of the cars of the Devas who are supposed to be constantly passing from one region to another? At any rate, it is very unlikely that a Tamil poet in praising his patron who is a prince of the Tamil land, will refer, in terms almost of veneration, to the achievements of the Mauryas, at whose hands, it is suggested, the Tamil kings sustained an ignominious defeat. Besides, seeing that so soon after their alleged occupation of the Tamil country, the Mauryas were thence effectively ejected by the Tamil kings,—for we are told that the conquest was probably by Bindusara, and by the thirteenth year of Asoka the Chola and Pandya kingdoms, as also the Keralaputra and Satyaputra States, were independent, as seen from Asoka's edicts—the Sangam poets would not ordinarily refer to the vanquished foreigners in terms of unmeasured praise, as we must hold they have done if we accept Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's reading and interpretation. These are some of the considerations that make us hesitate to accept the learned Professor's reading. Supposing, however, that in the passages from *Aha-Nanuru* the correct reading is "*Moriyar*", it is by no means clear that those passages establish that there was a Mauryan invasion of the Tamil land. In all the three instances, the lyrics seem to be extracted only in part; and in the form in which the extracts are presented, the lines seem to be inconsequent; but such as they are, it seems to us they may be construed differently from the way Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar has done. None of the passages need necessarily import that the Mauryas cut their way through a rising mountain and passed in triumph to the South. And if the meaning of Mamular and others is that the Mauryas bored or cut a way through a mountain to allow their cars to proceed, how does it happen that they do not locate it; but merely

refer to it indefinitely as if it were in some distant region, far away from the Tamil country. The suggestion in each of the poems is that the hero has gone far, far away, even to or beyond the distant mountain on whose crest the revolving wheels of the shining car have caused a depression. The mountain so described may not unreasonably denote a mountain well-known in the legends of the land *e.g.*, Sakravalā or Vindhya, both of which are according to folk-lore regarded as having barred the path of the Sun, and had therefore to be depressed to allow his car to pass. Even supposing the absence of the heroes in the far-off north, beyond the distant mountains, was suggestive of historical event, we apprehend we will not be wrong if we hold that the reference is perhaps to the assistance that the forces of the Tamil kings rendered to the Andhra dynasty in their attempt to sweep the Mauryas from the Deccan or in their intermittent struggle against the Kshethrapas. Indeed the extract from *Aha-Nanuru* lyric 281, given at page 90 of the book under review may, without doing violence to the language, be explained to mean that the hero had gone beyond the distant northern mountain to the assistance of the *Vadugar* (the Andhras) who had opposed themselves to the Mauryas in their intended southward march. It is well known that probably about 200 B.C., *i.e.*, during the latter days of the Mauryan Empire, the Andhras who would seem to have asserted their independence soon after the death of Asoka, had become a great power, whose territories included the whole of Deccan and extended to the West Coast. However, lyric 251 appears to be the most important for the purpose of this inquiry. The extract refers to *Kosar*, *Podiyil*, *Mohur*, *Mauryar*, and a battle; but unfortunately the whole poem is not before us. The extract provides no warrant for holding that the *Kosar* were the vanguard of the advancing Mauryan army (in *Silappathigaram*, *Kosar* appear as the rulers of *Kongu Nadu*). If *Kosar* were a foreign people who had advanced as invaders into the Tamil country, even to the sacred Podiyil hill itself, it is inconceivable that the Tamil poet would describe their war-drums as 'sweet sounding drums' (இன்னிசைமுரசும்). Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar says that they 'administered a crushing defeat upon their enemies near Podiyil Hill'; but who these enemies were is not mentioned. He however says that *Mohur* did not submit on that occasion; but the extract as printed at page 88 would convey the meaning "*Mohur not having been submitted to*", and not "*Mohur not having submitted.*" Besides, the extract does not say that "the newly-installed Mauryas came up at the head of a great army", and in making that statement, the learned Professor seems to have regarded an adjectival particle as a finite verb. *Vamba Moriyyar* (வம்ப மோரியர்) is translated as "*newly-installed Mauryas*"; and we are told the expression "*Vamba Moriyyar*", the *Maurya novae hominæ*, is justified in respect of this author (Mamular) and his contemporaries. In so translating the expression, Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has followed Pandit Raghava Ayyangar's explanation of the word *Vamba*, (வம்ப); and the learned Pandit so explained the word as he desired to make out that the poet referred to the Guptas as the *new* Mauryas. The classical meaning of *Vamba*, however, is as seen from *Tol Kappiyam*, 'fugitive' (வம்பு நிலையின்மை) *c.f.*, *Vamba Mallar* (வம்ப மள்ளர்) in *Pura Nanuru* lyrics 72 and 79. The extract as given does not enable us

to say what was done by or to the Mauryas, and the sequence in thought is not very patent. Perhaps, Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar's conclusion that there was a Mauryan invasion of South India is derivable from the poems in *Aha-Nanuru* that he relies upon; but the subject requires further investigation. As pioneer work in that direction, his work is extremely valuable; and possibly, besides Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, others also who may be provoked into research, and not merely into cavil or criticism, will throw additional light upon this very interesting topic of ancient South Indian history. The recent discovery of an edict of Asoka at Maski may perhaps justify the inference that the Mauryan Empire extended in Asoka's days to the northern frontier of Mysore; but did it extend further south at any time, and if so, how far? In the nature of things, only a study of ancient literature can help us to answer the question; and Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar's work in opening up that line of inquiry deserves whole-hearted praise.

We have dwelt at this length on this subject, as in our view it is, as already observed, the most important contribution that Mr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has made to the South Indian history in this course of lectures. The other conclusion that is sought to be established in the book is that the third Tamil Sangam should be assigned to a period not later than the second century after Christ. In doing this, he has had to try conclusion with several powerful opponents, and we think he has succeeded in maintaining his ground. A keen controversy has for some time been going on about the probable date of Sangam works, and various persons have contributed their share to the elucidation (or, shall we say, mystification) of the problem. The controversy has mainly centred round the date of *Silappathigaram* and *Manimekhalai*. It is not possible to enter into details here; but it may be stated generally that, so far, these works have been assigned to three periods widely separated from one another, *viz.*, the second, the fifth and the eighth century after Christ. The two latter periods are suggested by Pandit Raghava Ayyangar and Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai respectively. Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar examines the possessions of these two scholars from various standpoints, in several lectures, and pronounces his verdict against them, and in favour of those who hold by the 'Gajabahu theory', that is the second century. We do not say that his statements are all unassailable; there may be some that one may question. To take an instance, one may not probably concur in the view advanced in the chapter on "Astronomical Considerations", that the Tamil week began with the day of the Moon, based as it is on the consideration of a single passage from *Pathirrup-pattu*; and by way of contrast, line 5 of the third *Paripadal* recently published by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Ayyar, may be cited (சூரியன் திங்களுமறனுமை. ஊரும்). This latter line is also of interest, as having a bearing on another question discussed in that lecture—the question of planetary week in Southern India. The planets, besides the Sun and the Moon, which are expressly mentioned by name, are referred to collectively as 'the five' (ஐவர்.) Whatever may be the merits of incidental statements made in the course of these lectures, there is no doubt that a strong case supported by extensive learning and copious references has been made

out in support of the view that the period of greatest activity of the Third Sangam should be sought in the second century of the Christian era.

The book affords much instructive reading, and will be welcomed by all that are interested in Indian history ; while the publishers have done their work so well that it is really a pleasure to the eye to go over the pages of the book.

K. G. S.

Kanarese Literature.

By MR. E. P. RICE.

Published by the Association Press, Calcutta.

IN price, in bulk, in style, in get-up, the history of Kanarese Literature by Mr. E. P. Rice is extremely interesting. When we remember that Saintsbury wrote a History of English Prosody in three grand volumes without defining what a *foot* was, we are inclined to bless an author who gives us the history of a Literature of eleven hundred years in the short space of a 100 pages. In these days of cheap printing and free writing, the shortness of a man's book—like the neatness of a man's appearance—indicates the sweetness of the thoughts within. It is long years since Academies and Parishads were noisily set up in this country for the individualisation of Kannada, but we have seen nothing come out of all that, and some of those engaged in them write Kannada, that, from the reader's standpoint, is positively execrable. And now, as though in mockery of their noise, a book issues from the mild silence of the cloister which might engage the first thoughts of anybody interested in the well being of the language. Mr. Rice is one more of the long list of self-sacrificing Westerners who have grown and fostered the plant of historic criticism in this country. It began with Sanskrit, and has embraced now, even Kannada. When we see that the book comes from one who owes nothing to the language or people of this province, we cannot refrain from giving a sneer at the vaunted scholarship and culture of the people of this country.

The whole course of the history may be compared to a river receiving tributaries. During the first millennium of its course, it is an unmingled stream of Jaina thought. In the twelfth century this is joined by the stream of Vira Shaivism ; and the two streams, like the Rhone and Saone at Lyons, flow side by side without mingling. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, these two are joined by a Vaishnava affluent ; and the united stream flows on, until in the nineteenth century it is broadened and much modified by a great inrush of Western thought.

“These different sections of Kanarese literature differ not only in religious background, but also in literary form. Jaina works are generally in *Champu* i.e., mingled prose and verse, the verse being in a great variety of metres, and evincing great literary skill. Much Lingayat literature is in prose ; its poetry is mostly in monotonous six-lined stanzas, called *Shatpadi* ; some is in three-lined *tripadi* or

ragale. The longer Brahmanical works are also in *Shatpadi*; but there are beside many lyrical compositions to popular airs. The literature of the modern period is mostly in prose; but a popular form of composition is *Yakshagana*."

About the close he names some original characteristics of the Literature.

"It will be noticed that the interest of Kanarese writers is almost entirely *religious*". "The great bulk of the literature until the nineteenth century had been in verse." "To read Kanarese books in the ordinary tone of speaking, is to miss much of their beauty; they are intended to be chanted." "Literary and poetic usage demands the use of archaic forms of words, as well as of Sanskrit terms for common things." "Indians have great admiration for the wit and originality shown in what is called *Slesha* or *double entendre*." "There is a number of stock metaphors of which Indian writers seem never to weary." And last "One misses in India the poetry of pure human love which forms so large and rich an element in the literature of the West."

One must read the book rather than this review to appreciate Mr. Rice.

G. R. J.

Gazetteer of the Salem District, Vols. 1 & 2.

BY MR. F. J. RICHARDS, I.C.S.

It was a happy idea of the Government of Madras to have chosen Mr. Richards to revise the Salem Manual of Mr. LeFanu, and give us, as a result of his pious and learned labour, the two excellent volumes under review. Mr. Richard's partiality to the District is well known, and this was more than once evidenced by his contributions to the Journal of our Society on matters relating to the District. What with his paternal solicitude for everything connected with the District and what with his antiquarian and archæological taste one could not expect anything but a work of devoted labour and learned research.

Salem has, in comparison with other districts of the Presidency, certain points particularly its own. The chapter on History to students of Indian History has a special value. It is replete with materials which are as authentic as they are interesting. Well says the author that the 'history of the District is essentially the history of a march land'. Quite from the beginning of the first century A.D. it plays an important part in the annals of history.

Vestiges of different kinds of Dravidian civilization are to be found in the District even today. Though the District is pre-eminently Tamilian, it is not wanting in traces of the sway of the Telugu and Kanarese Kings. It was Salem District that afforded ample passage to the British arms in their colossal conquest of the Mahamadan Kingdom of Mysore. Mr. Richards has built a beautiful work on the old foundations of Mr. LeFanu, though his innate modesty would make him say that any such attempt is vandalism. One suggestion we have to offer, which is this.

Would not some eager student of History construct a sketch work of Indian History based mainly on the materials furnished by the Gazetteers, helped by what he has already acquired from other sources.

K. D.

Asoka.

BY J. M. MACPHAIL M.A., M.D.

Published in the Heritage of India Series.

IT is rather a sorry state of affairs that gentlemen who are Christian in their leanings should feel the necessity more than an Indian, nay a Hindu, to give publicity to the existence of a rich heritage which is purely Indian. All India owes them a world of thanks for their selfless labours to unearth the treasure of knowledge and wisdom and beauty which are too precious to be lost. The editors would have done well to delete the sentence in their editorial preface the sentence. "In her literature, philosophy, art and regulated life, there is much that is worthless, much also that is distinctly unhealthy." Much the same can be said of all people and of all religions. So greater the reason that we do not say it. All the same we eagerly look for the day that the body of earnest workers that the joint Editors have gathered about them are able to carry out the comprehensive programme they have chalked out.

Now, coming to the book *Asoka* offered for Review, we have nothing but praise. His is the figure that has above all that of the other sovereign for a double fold interest, political and religious. We do not quite agree with the statement of the author that the mythical element connected with the life history of the man is greater than the historical or the authentic. It cannot be said of any other sovereign who exercised his sway in the early periods of India that he has left indisputable evidences of his life and rule as Asoka did. We are more in the land of fact than fiction in dealing with Asoka, which is another point to make us so much interested in this prince of princes. Though all the chapters are written in a sympathetic spirit, that on Asoka, the missionary, is quite full of interest. It is here we have a searching analysis of the motives and methods of Asoka.

The concluding lines of the last chapter on *Asoka's place in History* containing a sensible refutation of the charge levelled against India that it is stagnant and unchanging and that the West could well keep a part without meeting the East. This view is the view of those that have brains but which do not understand. As the author well says that "more than two thousand years ago the barriers of Border and Breed and Birth gave way before the impulse of religious conviction and missionary enthusiasm. Have not East and West met together in the battle fields of Europe and Africa and Asia to put down tyranny and despotism. We conclude with an appeal to the joint Editors in matters of religion, it is much better, they give the different view points without drawing out dogmatic inferences.

K. D.

A Guide to Sanchi.

BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT., C.I.E.

Director General of Archaeology in India.

WE welcome every effort to unveil the old civilization of India. Lovers of truth will always applaud each fresh attempt to explain the glories of the Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy, and every fresh discovery of the treasures of Indian Archaeology. Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Indian Archaeology, has brought out a book called "A guide to Sanchi", in the territory of the Begum of Bhopal, the enlightened ruler who seems determined that her reign shall form an emblem of the capabilities of the contemporary India, as the monuments which stand on her domain symbolise that ancient civilization of India, whose great watchword was "Charity". It is brought out with her royal assistance, and is dedicated to that noble princess. The book deals with monuments which are to us a guide to the times in which the greatness of India rivalled the greatness of Greece, and which gave birth to a religious thought which stands even to-day as the most populous of the world's religions. We never weary of every fresh volume which takes us back to the men and to the modes which prevailed in India, when India was Indian. Sir John Marshall has treated of the *Stupas* of Sanchi, and told us once again the story of Mauryan greatness, and Budhistic civilization. But what is Sanchi. It is a village near Bhilsa in the Bhopal State, and its stupas are a group of monuments the most extensive and the most interesting of the records of the great days of flourishing Buddhism. The fact is that near by the modern Bhilsa, there once stood the famous and populous city of Vidisa, the capital of Eastern Malwa, and that in and around this city there grew up a flourishing community of Buddhists, who found on the summits of the neighbouring hills attractive and commanding spots on which to build their memorials and their monasteries—spots, that is to say, which were far enough removed from the turmoil and distractions of the great city, but sufficiently close to it to attract worshippers from its crowded thoroughfares." Other famous Buddhist monuments stand on places hallowed by the presence of Buddha, but Sanchi alone had no connection with the life or acts of the Master. It is scarcely mentioned in Buddhist Literature, and the Chinese pilgrims have not a word to say about this one. It is a strange coincidence, but however, these remains are at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Buddhist architecture in India.

The book is priced but 2/8, and is most decently got up.

G. R. J.

A Guide to Taxila.

BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL; pp. 1—124.

THE excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall at Taxila, better known as Takshasila, for the last four or five years have reopened a wonderful and strangely

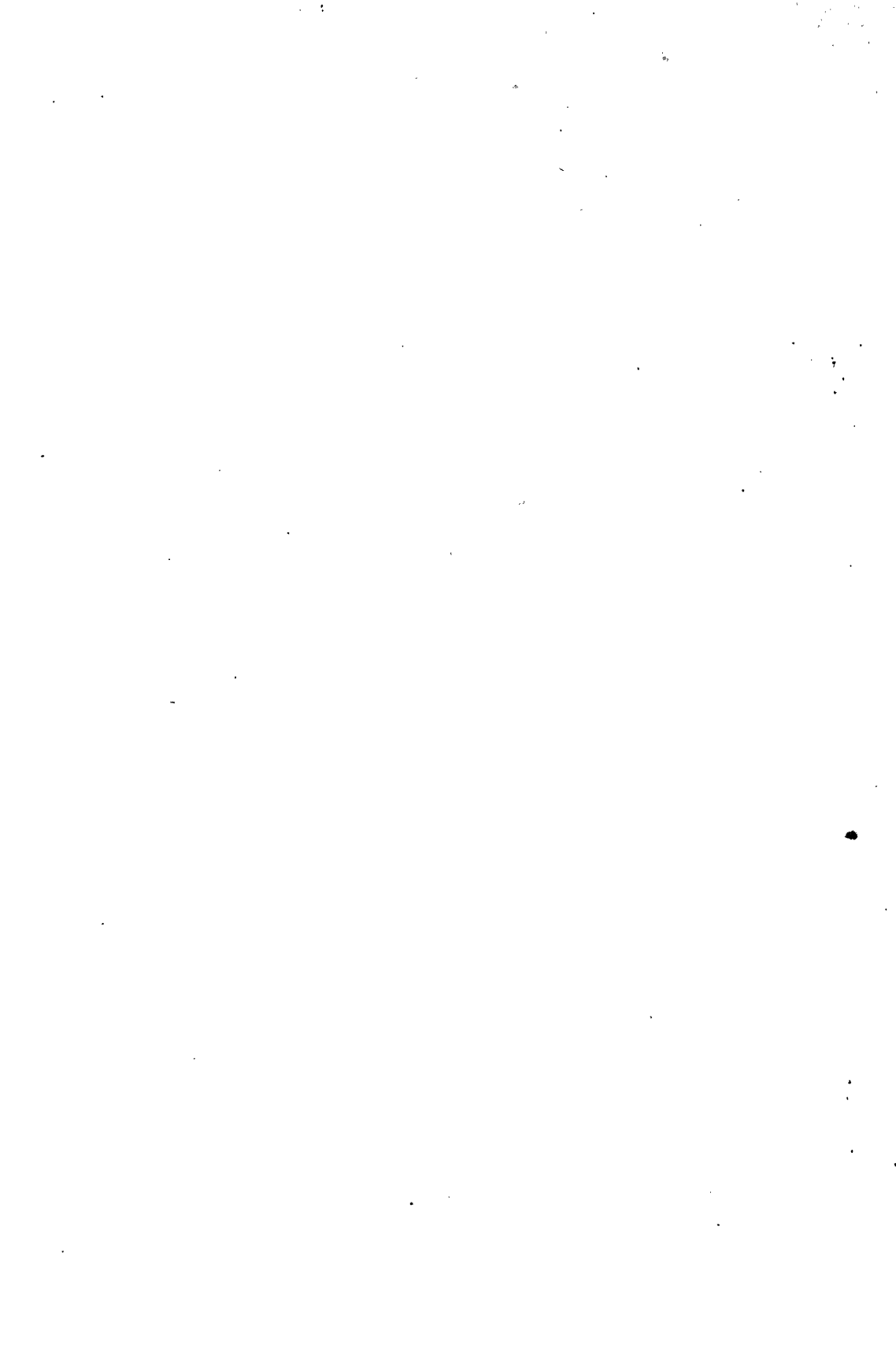
varied history. The influence of different dynasties on the architecture, the art and military structures of the city and its kingdom are traceable in the discoveries of the trenches and excavations that have been made. Consecutive history is by no means easy of attainment; the evidence is so mixed and fragmentary that the re-arrangement of the details and the filling up of their blanks must needs take much time and labour. The present book is what it professes to be, a "Guide" to visitors and students rather than a detailed discussion of the value of the finds.

It is clear, however, that the remains of three ancient cities lie near to each other, and all were included in the common historical name. The connection of Alexander the Great with Ambhi, the ruler of the city at the time of his invasion of the Panjab, is well known. And it has often been pointed out in *disproof* of the influence of Greek art on that of India how short-lived Alexander's kingdom was and how completely it was swallowed up by Indian growths. Sir John Marshall brings into clear light the indirect influence of Alexander and the Greeks on Indian coinage, art and architecture exercised through the rule of the Bactrian Greeks here for about a century from 231 B.C. onward. He shows how the influence of Greek art continued till the fifth century A.D. He points out an interesting use of the principle of curvature of horizontal and perpendicular lines in architecture, employed by the Greeks, in the plinth of the stupa of Kunala; but the Indian builders have misused the principle, with the result that the illusion which was to be corrected has been increased.

The discovery here of a casket containing relics of the Buddha is well known. Also the trend of the investigations toward illuminating the history of Buddhism and its monastic institutions during the height of its influence in India. It seems, however, that not less in importance will be the information available throwing light on the early relation between Asia and Europe, and between India and countries to the West of the Passes. Persians, Macedonians, Bactrian Greeks, Scythians and Parthians—these all have left their footprints on the "sands" of Taxila, and hereafter we shall know more of the significance of apsidal stupas and of the influence of the ziggurat of the Babylonian plains on Indian temple architecture, as well as of the influence of race on race and religion on religion. It is amazing to read of the discovery here of an inscription in Aramaic, of probably the fourth century B.C., even though its meaning is still a bone of contention with scholars. The ordinary student is filled with wonder that such an inscription should be recoverable with characters so clear and well-formed.

The plans and illustrations are a great feature of the "Guide"; they are both well chosen and well reproduced. Whether the student of Taxila be on the spot or thousands of miles away he can still wander about the City and see its historic wonders with his trustworthy "Guide." The fuller exposition, however, of the discoveries already achieved at Taxila and of finds that will still probably be made on the old sites is surely due in a larger and more leisurely volume.

A. T. S.



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KALIDASA'S SOCIOLOGICAL IDEALS.

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph. D.

It may at first sight be thought that there is no need to say anything about the sociological ideals of Kalidasa ; for it is well-known that Kalidasa was a Brahmin or at least a Brahministic Hindu who lived before 600 A.D., that is to say, at a time when the original current of Indian thought and literature was practically unaffected by foreign influences. Further, one can safely presume that the ideals of Kalidasa with respect to sociological matters did not in any way differ from those set forth in books on Dharma-sastra, Artha-sastra, etc., that were regarded as authoritative in that period ; and that, in effect, therefore, there are no individual opinions of Kalidasa on such matters.

The matter, however, is not so simple as it looks ; for, as in modern India, so in ancient India also there were current many books on Dharma-sastra, etc., that were regarded as authoritative but which set forth mutually conflicting doctrines. We know, for instance, of a rule of the Dharma-sastras which prescribes a period of *brahmacharya* of forty-eight years ; this rule has been declared by Sabara-swamin the commentator on Jaimini's Sutras as a mere device of impotent persons in order to hide their blemish ! It is obvious therefore that a mere reference into the books on Dharma-sastra, etc., that were in that period regarded as authoritative will not acquaint us with the opinions which Kalidasa held in sociological matters.

Besides, I have shown in a paper published in 1916 (*Sanskrit Research* for October, 1916) that the following unfavourable political conditions were prevalent at the time when Kalidasa lived and wrote :—

1. There was no king who had the interests of his people and of his kingdom at heart. Such a king had either been dead for some time and his successor was inefficient or the king himself had lost the kingly power and had become subject to another.

2. The country was under the domination of foreigners.

3. The former kings and chief people were humiliated and otherwise insulted ; and the people were ill-governed and not prosperous.

4. This state of things becoming intolerable, a deliberation was held by the prominent people and it was determined that an attempt should be made to regain the lost liberty and independence, although the outlook was so dark that such an object seemed to be impossible of attainment.

5. In pursuance of the above determination work was commenced and some even laid down their lives in the course of the work.

6. And when all that could be done had been done, the people were anxiously awaiting the result of their labours, that is, whether the result would be successful and liberty and independence attained or whether the outcome would be unsuccessful ; the people were therefore in a state of anxious suspense.

Now, a *kavi* or a poet is, as is explained many times by Sayana in his commentary on the Rigveda, one who sees far (*kranta-darsin*), that is, one who has a truer insight into the nature of things than ordinary people. What, therefore, Kalidasa, a *mahakavi*, writing in times when his country was suffering from very unfavourable political conditions has to say about what he thought to be ideal sociological conditions, fitted to restore again to his country the prosperity which it had lost, cannot fail to be of much interest to us.

I do not however propose to speak here to you about *all* the ideals which were held by Kalidasa with respect to sociological matters ; that would indeed take us too long. I shall therefore speak about one or two matters only.

We have all heard of the doctrine embodied in the phrases *laissez faire*, (लैसज़े फ़ैर) *laissez aller* (लैसज़ा अलै). According to this doctrine, the State should confine its actions to the narrowest limits possible and leave the people themselves to regulate their actions as far as it lies in them to do so. According therefore to the adherents of this doctrine, it is not necessary that the State should establish schools to educate its children ; the people will themselves establish schools if they think that it is good that their children be well-educated ; it is not necessary that the State should fix a minimum rate of wage ; the people will of course refuse to work if less than what is sufficient

for living is offered ; and so on. Now, it is obvious that such a doctrine would have been, if known at that period, highly welcomed by the foreigners who, as I have said above, were then in power ; for, it would have justified them in taking all they could from the people, and in leaving them as illiterate and poor as possible. Doctrine or no doctrine, that was in all probability what the State did in Kalidasa's time.

There is no room for doubt as to what Kalidasa thought about such matters. While describing one of his ideal kings, Kalidasa informs us that that king 'was the real father of his subjects in that he provided them with education, food, and protection'.

ಪ್ರಜಾನಾಂ ವಿನಯಾಧಾನಾದ್ರಪಕಾಢ್ಯರಣಾದಪಿ, ಸಮಿತಾ

Similarly, we learn from 1. 27 of the Raghuvamsa that Kalidasa looked upon the total absence of thieves and theft as a criterion of good government ; for, the absence of theft from a kingdom indicates, as Bhishma tells Yudhishthira in one of his homilies (Anusasanika-parva) that the State is following a number of sound, economic administrative policies, including the development of all economic resources of the State as well as a just criminal law and a proper administration thereof. And Kalidasa too informs us likewise (Raghuvamsa, 1. 6.) that his ideal kings 'awarded just punishment to punish an offence, neither more nor less ;' and that one such king 'made the mines to yield jewels, the earth to yield crops, and the jungles to yield elephants'.

ಖನಿಭಿಃ ಸುಘವೇ ರತ್ನಂ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರೈಃ ಸಸ್ಯಂ ವನ್ಯೈರ್ಗಜಾನ್

Raghuvamsa—17, 66.

I have referred above to the rule of the Dharma-sastras that prescribe a *brahmacharya*-period of 48 years and to Sabara-swamin's opinion that it is no valid rule at all. Kalidasa seems to take a middle position in this controversy ; for, he informs us that his ideal kings enjoyed the pleasures of life in their youth while at the same time (Raghuvamsa, 17, 3) their marriage took place only after they had acquired the usual *vidyas*.

In the Raghuvamsa, 17,39 Kalidasa informs us that it is the duty of every king to preside over law-courts and to dispense justice to applicants. This was most necessary in the old days as is evidenced by the Jataka stories which describe well the benefits of this as well as the evils arising from the want thereof ; and even now, a reversion to this ancient system will, without doubt, remove much injustice and also confer many benefits.

As I have indicated above my account is not exhaustive and a diligent investigator will find much, especially in the matter of the retaining of harmonious relations with foreign powers, in the duties which a wife, son, etc., owe to a husband, father, etc., to add to what I have said above.

SOME VIEWS ON KALIDASA'S PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

BY PANDIT C. VENKATARAMANIAH.

KALIDASA being the favoured child of the Muses has been variously considered as a great poet, famous dramatist, true historian, great scientist, renowned astrologer, well-versed in music, in medicine including surgery, in veterinary science, botany and horticulture, an authoritative writer on sociology, the best adviser in politics, and above all an inimitable and unparalleled poet of nature. But it is a question whether he was a philosopher also. Of course, his works are not concerned with philosophy directly, as the works of the famous Aswaghosha's are; but still, if we dive deep into the ocean of his works, we can see many valuable and bright gems not only of philosophy but also of psychology and metaphysics. In fact Kalidasa created opportunities to exhibit his philosophic and religious tendencies in his works especially in his semi-historic and mythologic works such as Raghuvamsa and Kumarasambhava. We must first know what philosophy is and what religion constitutes. Philosophy is the science which tries to account for all the phenomena of the universe by ultimate causes. In short, its etymological meaning is love of wisdom. The highest wisdom or knowledge being the Almighty God himself, philosophy concerns the highest faith and truth that comes out of great insight and true reflection on the nature of God, the soul and the universe, and the relation that subsists among these three. Religion again is defined as the outward act or form by which men indicate their recognition of the existence of a god or gods having power over their destiny. It is concisely defined as the conscious relation between men and God and the expression of that relation in human conduct. In short philosophy is mainly the ideal which one holds about God and religion is the method or means or ways to realize that ideal.

Now to know what Kalidasa's philosophy and religion are, I think it is safer to rely on the internal evidences furnished by his works than to depend upon external evidences which are very often vague and contradictory.

Kalidasa's idea of God is that God is "The Absolute" which is pure Self-existence, Transcendental Light and Perfect Bliss. Compare what he says in this respect "ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ್ಯೇಷು ಕೇವಲಾತ್ಮನೇ". Before creation, God is Absolute. "ಸಹಿದೇವತಾಪರಂಜ್ಯೋತಿಃ". God is nothing but Transcendental Light. "ತನುಃ ಪಾರೇವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಿತಂ"

God being Perfect Bliss is beyond darkness or ignorance which is the cause of all kinds of misery and rebirths. His next idea of God is that, being of the above description, God can assume a personal form for the sake of creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe. In this view he is considered and worshipped as Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara. But it must be remembered that these three aspects belong to one and the same God and consequently there is no essential difference. These three forms are necessitated by virtue of three qualities of *Prakriti*, the innate power of God. To confirm this idea let us see what Kalidasa says “ಸಮಸ್ತಿಮೂರ್ತಯೇತುಭ್ಯಂಪ್ರಾಕೃಷ್ಟೇಃ ಕೇವಲಾತ್ಮನೇ | ಗುಣತ್ರಯ ವಿಭಾಗಾಯಶಶ್ಚಾಭೇದ ಮುಪೇಯುಷೇ” This is said of the Brahma aspect of God. The same idea and epithets are embodied in the praises offered to the Vishnu aspect of God. Compare “ನಮೋ ವಿಶ್ವಶೃಜೇ ಪೂರ್ವಂ ವಿಶ್ವತದನುಬಿಭೃತ | ಅಥ ವಿಶ್ವಸ್ಯ ಸಂಹರ್ತೇತುಭ್ಯಂತ್ರೇ ದಾಸ್ತಿತಾತ್ಮನೇ”. When similar praises are offered to the Siva aspect of God, the same idea again runs through the passage ; for see what he says about Siva : “ಕಿಂ ಯೇನಸೃಜಸಿನ್ಯಕ್ತಮುತಯೇನ ಬಿಭೃಷಿತತಾ | ಅಥ ವಿಶ್ವಸ್ಯ ಸಂಹರ್ತಾಭಾಗಃ ಕತಮನಿಷತೇ”. So much about Kalidasa's idea of God. Next his idea of the universe is that God created the world out of himself. In this respect he follows Manu, the great Law-giver. Kalidasa says :—“ಪ್ರೀಪುಂಸಾವಾತ್ಮಬಾಗಾತೇ ಭಿನ್ನಮೂರ್ತೇಸ್ತಿಸೃಕ್ಷಯಾ | ಪ್ರಸೂತಿಭಾಗಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಯ ತಾವೇವಸಿತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರತಾ” || male and female forms are but parts of Thy body whose shape was divided by the desire of creation. They themselves are described as the parents of the universe and as obtaining production. Hence God is worshipped as the great father by some and as the great mother by others in the world.

In Raghuvamsa the same idea is expressed in common language thus ; ಜಗತಃಪಿತತಾನಂದೇವಾರ್ತತೀಪರಮೇಶ್ವತಾ || Compare also a similar idea in Kumara-sambhava expressed in the verse ಯಾವಂ ತೈತಾನಿಭೂತಾನಿಸ್ಥಾನರಾಣಿಚರಾಣಿಚ | ಮಾತರಂ ಕಲ್ಪಯಂತ್ರೇನಾಮಿಶೋಹಿಜಗತಃಪಿತಾ || Kalidasa puts the same idea in the scientific language thus : “ಅವ್ಯಕ್ತೋವ್ಯಕ್ತಕಾರಣಂ” that is, the effect is only the development of the cause not being essentially different from it. In the philosophic or Vedantic language, the idea runs in a more technical manner in the verse. “ಅತ್ಮಾನಮಾತ್ಮನಾವೇಶಿಸ್ವಜಸ್ಯಾತ್ಮಾನಮಾತ್ಮನಾ ಅತ್ಮನಾಕೃತಿನಾಚತ್ವಮಾತ್ಮನ್ಯೇವಪುಲೀಯಸೆ”. This means in the language of the Indian philosopher, that God is both efficient and material cause of the Universe.

About the soul Kalidasa simply says that it is “ಅವಿಕ್ರಿಯಃ” i.e., Absolute in essence.

From these ideas, you will be led to believe that Kalidasa is the staunch follower of the Advaita school of philosophy. Nay for that matter he is a Visistadvitin also. Mark what he says about God and the universe in the manner of the Visistadvitic school. “ದ್ರವ್ಯಸ್ಪೃಷ್ಠಾತಕರಿಣಸ್ಥೂಲಸ್ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮೇಲಘುರ್ಗುರುಃ | ವ್ಯಕ್ತೋವ್ಯಕ್ತೇತರಶ್ಚಾಸ್ತಿತ್ರಕಾಮೃಂತೇಭೂತಿಷು”.

Thou art Liquid, Solid, Hard, Gross, Subtle, Light, Heavy, Developed and Undeveloped, thus the freedom of any will is seen even in atomic and other forms. And also in the verse “ಸ್ವಕಾಲ ಪರಿಣಾಮೇನ ವ್ಯಸ್ತ ರಾತ್ರಂದಿವಸೇತೇ | ಯಾತು ಸ್ವಪ್ನಾ ವಜೋಧಾತಾ ಭೂತಾನಾಂ ಪ್ರಳಯೋದಯಾ ” || thy sleeping and thy waking whose night and day are divided by the measure of thy own time are simply the destruction and creation of all things. In the same way Kalidasa may be termed the follower of the Dvita school. For he says about God : “ ತ್ವಂಸಿತೃಣಾಮು ಪಿತೃದೇವತಾ ನಾಮುಪಿದೇವತಾ | ಪರತೋಪಿ ಪರಶ್ಚಾಸಿ ವಿಧಾತಾ ವೇಧಸಾಮುಪಿ ” || Thou art Father of Fathers, God even of Gods, Superior even of Superiors, Creator even of Creators. Notice also the words : “ ಯಮಾಮನಂತ್ಯಾತ್ಮ ಭುವೋಪಿಕಾರಣಂ ” ||

God is the cause even of the self begotten, God Brahma. Also notice the verse “ ಜಗದ್ವ್ಯೋ ನಿರಯೋನಿಸ್ತ್ವಂ ಜಗದಂತೋ ನಿರಂತಕಃ | ಜಗದಾ ದಿತನಾದಿಸ್ತ್ವಂ ಜನದೀ ಶೋನಿದೀಶ್ವರಃ ” ||

Thus, to say that Kalidasa is the follower of three schools of philosophy alike may seem inconsistent, but with a little reflection it is clear that he did not consider these three schools as contradictory. He thought that they were really complementary because for the evolution of the soul, the three stages, indicated by the three schools referred to above, are necessary. First the relation between man and God should be that of a master and a servant, a parent and a son, and a protector and the protected; and when man thinks less of the world and more of the inner nature of soul, he naturally aspires for more freedom and tries to attain equality with the Supreme and he then never seeks to separate nature from God or soul from nature and God; and in the last stage, when he can forget both nature and soul and contemplate the essence of God and God alone, then the perfect freedom is assured to him, then the parts and whole become one and indistinguishable.

So Kalidasa being very liberal in his religious idea, may be considered not only the follower of the three schools, but of all the schools of philosophy in this world. For he faithfully accepts the tenets of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophy and applies their principles to God Almighty. “ ತ್ವಾಮಾಮನಂತಿತ್ರಕೃತಿಂ ಪುರುಷಾರ್ಥಪ್ರವರ್ತಿನೀಂ | ತ್ವದ್ವರ್ತಿನಮುದಾರ್ಪೀನಂತ್ಯಾಮೇವಪುರುಷಂವಿದುಃ ” ||. “ They lay thee down as prakriti or the first cause engaging in the act of creation for the purpose of Purusha, souls and they know Thee also to be Purusha, the looker on of Prakriti and quite apart from it. Thus it is clear that Kalidasa's views are most liberal and universal. This statement can also be proved from what he says in the following verse:—

“ ಬಹುಧಾಪ್ಯಾಗ ಮೈರ್ಭಿನ್ನಾಃ ಪಂಥಾನಃ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಹೇತವಃ ”

meaning that God is one though differently conceived and described by various texts of the world. The commentary on the phrase “ ಬಹುಧಾ ಪ್ಯಾಗಮೈರ್ಭಿನ್ನಾಃ ” runs thus: ಸಾಂಖ್ಯ, ನ್ಯಾಯ, ವೈಶೇಷಿಕ, ಬಾದ್ಧಲೋಕಾಯತ ಭಾಟ್ಟಾದಿ ಭಿರ್ಭಿನ್ನಾಃ || I would explain the word Adi, etc., by including ಶ್ರೈಸ್ತಮಹಾಮತಃ, etc.

By these liberal ideas of Kalidasa you know how much stress is laid on religious tolerance by our master poet. He says further that occasions may make it necessary to place one aspect of God above the other for certain purposes and warns us here by saying that no one should, on that account, be led astray into thinking that these aspects are really different. He says further that Brahma, Vishnu, Siva being the three aspects of one and the same God generally known in Hindu theology, the superiority or inferiority is common to each, as for any temporary purpose. For example, when Hara is placed in the highest position, Brahma and Vishnu are his subordinates, when Vishnu is ranked as first, Hara and Brahma become inferior, so also if Brahma occupies the first position, the other two take next places. Compare Kalidasa's own words in this connection " ಏಕೈವಮೂರ್ತಿರ್ಬಿಭುದೇತ್ರಿಧಾ ತ್ವನೇಸಾಮಾನ್ಯಮೇತತ್ಪ್ರಥಮಾವರತ್ವಂ । ವಿಷ್ಣೋರ್ಹರಃಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಹರಿಃಕದಾಚಿತ್ವನೇಧಾಃ ತಯೋಸ್ತಾವಸಿ ಧಾತುರಾದ್ಯಾಃ "॥ This is only for a temporary purpose as already said but in reality as there is no difference, Kalidasa asks us not to indulge in scorning any other aspect of God, or for that matter, any other religion, in preference to our own : nay he admonishes even by the words that not only he who reviles the God of another is a partaker of sin but also he who hears him. Cf. " ನಕೇವಲಂ ಯೋನುಹತೋಪಭಾಷಣೈಶ್ಚೈತೋತಿತಸ್ಮಾದಪಿಯಸ್ಸಪಾಪಭಾಕ್ ".

As for the means to attain the highest bliss or happiness unalloyed by any trace of misery, Kalidasa follows the Vedanta religion in prescribing ಜ್ಞಾನ, ಭಕ್ತಿ, ಮೈರಾಗ್ಯ, as the real means. See what he says " ತ್ವಯ್ಯಾನೇಶಿತಚಿತ್ತಾನಾಂತ್ವತ್ವಮುಪಿತಕರ್ತವ್ಯಾಂಗತಿಸ್ತ್ವಂವೀತರಾಗಾಣಾನುಭೂಯಸನ್ನಿವೃತ್ತಯೇ ".

After all, Kalidasa is not so rigid as some of the sages of the Upanishidic period in prescribing the means to attain the ideal. His philosophy is not a stoic philosophy and he does not ask us to leave the world all at once. His is the practical religion. He sees beauty in the common every day material of human life, and allows us to be a little epicurean even, of course with certain moral restrictions, and to renounce the world after enjoying it for contemplation and realisation of God. This idea is plain as indicated in the phrases " ವಾರ್ಧಕೇಮುನಿವೃತ್ತೀನಾಂಯೋಗೇನಾಂತೇತನುತ್ಸಜಾಂ ". Kalidasa is a firm believer in the theory of Karma which is merely the theory of cause and effect and also in the theory of the transmigration of the soul. The morals which he inculcates in his works are very admirable and of universal application and also essential to the human conduct of every one.

He pays high regard to women and their education. His references to agriculture, industry and commerce are noteworthy. In conclusion Kalidasa's philosophy is the real philosophy of the world and his religion is acceptable to all creeds and grades of human beings in the world. It is therefore befitting us to pay our humble homage in these forms of dedication in memory of one of the great master poets of the world.

SALVATION AND REDEMPTION FROM SIN AND SUFFERING AS TAUGHT BY SOME ORIENTAL RELIGIONS.

BY PROFESSOR A. G. WIDGERY, M. A.

A Paper read before the Mythic Society.

THOUGH it appears to be essentially false to suppose, as people so often do, that religion is concerned chiefly with salvation from sin and redemption from suffering, it is true that the problems of sin and suffering have occupied, and still occupy a position of such fundamental importance in every religion that the values of religions are perhaps most frequently judged in the popular mind by what they offer as relief from evil. My intention in the present paper is to give some excerpts from a chapter dealing with this subject in a volume on "The Comparative Study of Religions" which I hope to publish within the next few years.

In the earliest times known to history evils were almost entirely physical: the lack of food and along with this the pains of disease, the calamities of external nature and the conflicts of man with man, and man with brute. Fear of these ills tended to augment the suffering. Such sufferings, however, can hardly be regarded as associated with religion until the stage of Animism when, with the more definite belief in soul, these calamities were looked upon as due to the displeasure or malevolence of other spirits. At this stage of predominant desire for the satisfaction of urgent physical needs and relief from physical pain, the practices of magic flourished most. Though these are not to be discussed here, it is well to remark in passing that these practices are only really intelligible if considered psychologically as forms of expression of intense feelings, forms of expression which brought relief and eventual calm through distraction of the attention and the provision of an outlet for the emotions. The one essential thing was to *do* something—it did not matter so very much what. From this need of forms of expression for the emotions the practices of magic and religion in the earliest stages originated.

At the level of simple Nature-worship the contemplation of the beauties of natural scenes brought relief and calm, raising men above the consideration of their own pain, just as other phenomena of Nature produced feelings of awe and submission. Similar to this is the consolation aroused through the contemplation of images of saints and of gods, a consolation which is probably

one main cause for the persistence of the use of images even in highly developed forms of religion. Who can doubt the reality of the influence of contemplation of the image of the sitting Buddha ? Eddins talks of the Buddhist idols of clay with " their customary expression of benevolence and thoughtfulness " ¹. Certain it is that they have helped millions of suffering minds to realise a feeling of resignation and fortitude. Gardner refers to the smile on the faces of the images of the gods of ancient Greece " to express and even to induce the benignity of the deity " ². The Greek writer Dion Chrysostom appreciated the reality of this influence, especially in relation to the masterpieces of Phidias: " A man whose soul is utterly immersed in toil, who has suffered many disasters and sorrows and cannot even enjoy sweet sleep, even such a one, I think, if he stood face to face with this statue, would forget all the dangers and difficulties of this mortal life ; such a vision, you, Phidias, have invented and devised, a sight to lull all pain and anger and to bring forgetfulness of every sorrow." ³. For centuries pictures and images of Christ and His Mother and of the Christian saints, have been aids to engender consolation and peace in the minds of Catholic Christians. In all this art plays its part in the economy of the religious life, and particularly in redemption from suffering. Incidentally it may be remembered that Schopenhauer, the greatest of modern European pessimists, recognised art alone as a real means of redemption.

The earliest religious attitude towards suffering was to think of it as due to disobedience or some form of wrong-doing against the gods or as coming from deliberate malevolence of bad spirits. Sacrifices and offerings were then resorted to as means of reconciliation or propitiation in order to bring about the cessation of the suffering. In the consciousness of some wrong committed and the desire to overcome the wrong is the beginning of a genuine feeling of repentance as known in the higher stages of religion.

This also is the earliest form of the consciousness of sin, which changes little in character even though in later history it grows in clearness. From its most primitive conception to its latest theory sin is some thought, feeling, or action, regarded as being disharmonious with the wishes or the will of the gods. The position of emphasis varies : at first predominantly on the external act and its consequences, it is moved more and more on to the inner attitude of will, and the feeling of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Sin is the wrong attitude of the will. On one of the tombs of the Theban kings of ancient Egypt, the creator is represented as saying : " Men who were sprung from mine eye have devised rebellion against me " ⁴. The sin of Adam and Eve in the Bible is that

1. *Religion in China*.

2. Gardner, E. A. *Religion and Art in Ancient Greece* 1910, p. 22.

3. Gardner *op. cit.*, p. 81.

4. Steindorff. *The religion of the Ancient Egyptians* 1905, p. 44.

of deliberate disobedience, and from that their suffering is supposed to have originated, and not theirs only but also that of the whole of humanity. Aristotle and the Stoics go beyond the Socratic position of "Virtue is knowledge" in their recognition and insistence that for the moral life the right use of the will is essential. But they do not feel the force of this truth so intensely as did the Christian Paul: "For the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practise".¹

Not infrequently all suffering has been looked upon as due to sin. Death has been conceived as the "wages of sin", as among the sea Dyaks of Borneo and among many Christians, though the orthodox doctrine of the latter probably means, "spiritual death." At a time of plague in A. D. 590 Pope Gregory called for prayers and penitence: "Let us repent in tears for our evil deeds." During the present war many have maintained that all its sufferings are the result of our iniquities. But by far the most thorough-going presentation of this position is to be found in Buddhism, Jainism, and the various forms of Hinduism, in the doctrine of *karma*. According to this doctrine, simply stated, suffering is the causal effect of an individual's own sin, committed in this or in a previous life. Sometimes associated with the doctrine of *karma*, as in Jainism, but also independently of it, is the belief that evil generally and suffering in particular is due to the contact of spirit with matter. The way of redemption has then seemed to lie along the path of asceticism, endeavouring to deliver the soul from this contact, a method reaching its climax in religious suicide by starvation in Jainism.

I do not think that any religion is thorough-going in regarding evil as due solely to sin. Zoroastrianism comes as near to this as any, in that it traces all back to wrong thought, wrong words, wrong deeds. The Hebrew allegorical book of Job is typical of the uncertainties and hesitation in the minds of men concerning this question. Job, happy with a good conscience, wife, children, and great wealth, is suddenly overcome with calamity after calamity, loss of wealth, of children, and wife, and reduced to a miserable condition of painful disease. He finds it impossible to look upon these sufferings as all due to his sins. In a few passages it is suggested that the sufferings were sent by God as a means of moral education, a necessary factor in the formation of character, but the exposition is indecisive and the retributive notion of suffering as due to sin appears to predominate at the end. Yet, quite apart from the consideration of the cause of suffering, prayers and supplications for deliverance have been made by men to the gods in almost all ages.

In this paper I must omit much that is important in a complete survey, and pass to some of the positions of the great religions.

1. Romans, VII, p. 19.

Buddhism in large measure originated and has always been preached essentially as a way of redemption from evil, especially from suffering. The core of its teaching is the idea of deliverance. The Four Sacred Truths treat of suffering, the origin of suffering, and the path to be taken to obtain deliverance. Gautama had so tasted the joys of life that he was overcome with fear and anxiety of their loss. Disease and death would come to him and to those he loved. According to legend, therefore, he appears to have abandoned these forms of happiness out of his anxiety for their continuance. He turned to penance and to asceticism: but such self-torture did not bring peace. At the end of seven years the saving knowledge came to him. No apology is necessary for repeating here an oft-quoted passage: "This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of suffering: Birth is suffering; old age is suffering; to be separated from the loved is suffering; to be united with the unloved is suffering; not to obtain what one desires is suffering: in short, the fivefold clinging (to the earthly) is suffering." "This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of the origin of suffering: It is the thirst of being. It leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire which finds gratification here and there: the thirst for pleasures; the thirst for being; the thirst for power." "This, O Monks, is the sacred path which leads to the extinction of suffering; the extinction of this thirst by the annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room." "This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of the path which leads to the extinction of suffering; it is the sacred eightfold path, to wit: Right Faith; Right Resolve; Right Speech; Right Deed; Right Life; Right Effect; Right Thought; Right Self-Concentration."

The Buddha warned men against two extremes which do not lead to peace: "There are two extremes, O Monks, from which he who leads a religious life must abstain. What are those two extremes? One is a life of pleasure devoted to desire and enjoyment: that is base, ignoble, unspiritual, unworthy, unreal. The other is a life of self-mortification: it is gloomy, unworthy, unreal. The perfect one, O Monks, is removed from both these extremes and has discovered the way which lies between them, the middle way which enlightens the eyes, enlightens the mind, which leads to rest, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana." ¹

Thus it is seen that early Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire as the way of redemption from suffering, but was opposed to methods of self-torture for expiation or the acquisition of merit. From the varied and comprehensive character of the Noble Eightfold Path release from suffering is seen to depend upon many things, including right moral conduct. The attitude of Gautama seems in large measure to have been agnostic with regard to many

1. Oldenberg, H. *Buddha, His Life and Teachings*, pp. 318-20.

of the problems which have always troubled the minds of men ; he did not profess to find any redemption in metaphysical considerations.

As all suffering has been frequently believed to be due to sin, so all sin has been thought of as due to ignorance. The most forcible expression of this view is the Socratic dictum " Virtue is knowledge " ; although there is not sufficient evidence to assert that this is all Socrates meant by the saying—rather the later course of Greek thought would suggest that one implication was that the highest bliss is to be obtained by contemplation, insight, spiritual wisdom. Salvation through knowledge is quite distinctively maintained by certain prominent movements of Hindu thought, especially, as I understand it, by the Advaita Vedanta. For here men may transcend their sufferings, or it is supposed that they may, by the full and complete recognition of the transitoriness of the things which are temporal, and the knowledge of themselves as one with the One who exists eternally in peace. This I suppose is the basic idea underlying most of the attempts to obtain salvation and redemption through Yoga, some of the practices of which have for object the attainment of a consciousness of identity with the One by the process of abstracting the attention from the transitory sensations, feelings, and ideas of the world. When, as so often, the Hindu talks of " God-realisation " what he most often means or should mean according to his philosophical masters is the insight or knowledge of the identity of the microcosm of the soul with the macrocosm of the universe.

In Hinduism suffering is represented as an inevitable characteristic of the life of a finite being : the only redemption from suffering is escape from finitude. Until this escape is realised the state of finitude will continue in a series of re-births. Thus salvation is frequently described as salvation from re-birth. The doctrine of re-birth is bound up with that of the fruits of *karma*, mentioned elsewhere, which here I do not intend to discuss further. Expressed briefly it may be said that the means of redemption all imply the same principle of release from the delusion of the " self ". This is what is meant by " non-attachment ", the freedom from all thought that a particular action is to be for the benefit of one's own self or any other self, the freedom in fact from all thought of self. There are several ways in which this may be achieved, and the aim of equanimity of mind, the state of rest and peace, which is characteristic of the divine, may be reached. There is the way of action : *karma-yoga* ; of emotional devotion : *bhakti-yoga* ; and of knowledge and contemplative insight : *jnana-yoga*. In keen activity self, sufferings, troubles, all are forgotten ; so also in devotion the feelings are so centred on the object of devotion that there is no thought of self. In meditation and true knowledge the attention has by discipline been taken from all that is mere

appearance—the “external” world and the self. The avatars or incarnations have come to teach men selfless devotion to duty, to lead them to true knowledge, to the apprehension of their oneness with God, or as objects arousing men’s devotion and love. In the Hindu character there has always been a strain of asceticism, and in this manner also deliverance from the demon of desire and thus from suffering through dissatisfaction has been attained. But it is unnecessary and would be profitless for us to describe at length the perversions of this spirit of asceticism, and its association with practices often in themselves worthless, by which men have hoped to obtain merit, and thus aid in their final redemption.

Salvation is supposed, according to the Jains, to have been revealed to men especially by the twenty-four great Tirthankaras: only through possession of this true knowledge is one able to obtain redemption. But this is itself conceived as the freedom of *jiva* or the conscious from contact with *ajiva* or the unconscious. To attain such freedom only the individual’s own effort is of avail for himself. The paths of right thought, right deed, and right word, are to be trodden: thus only does it appear to the Jains that one may obtain redemption from suffering.

In order that we may follow another line of development, we must return to some early ideas. Many ancient religions contain the conception of “the dying god”, and the welfare of man is in some manner associated with the conception. Probably the idea arose in connection with Natureworship; the sun at its height at midday gradually dies, is buried below the horizon to rise the next day in triumph over death, bringing its gifts once more to men. Vegetation, mostly dying in autumn and in winter dead, rises again to newness of life in the spring and to beneficent productivity in summer. The conflicts of the Nature-powers aroused ideas and feeling of trouble and triumph. Yet the conflict seemed waged with the powers of darkness and death for the welfare of men, for they profited by the return of light and of the spring. Dr. Gilbert Murray tells us of a dying “Vegetation” spirit in Greece “in the first stage living, then dying with each year, then thirdly, rising again from the dead, raising the whole dead with him. The Greeks call him in this phase the third one or the Saviour”.¹ “The renovation ceremonies were accompanied by a casting off of the old year, the old garments and everything polluted by the infection of death. And not only of death, but clearly, I think, in spite of the protests of some Hellenists, of guilt or sin also. The more emotional cults of antiquity vibrate with the cult of the dying Saviour, the Sosipolis, the Soter, who in so many forms dies with his world or for his world, and rises again as the world rises, triumphant through suffering over death and the broken tabu.”² In Greek

1, 2. G. Murray : *Four stages of Greek Religion* 1915, pp. 46-47.

mythology, Heracles, the son of Zeus and a human mother, has the character of a redeemer in his overcoming of Cerberus and in his relief of Prometheus, who represents the spirit of man. In philosophical circles in Greece after Plato the real Saviour is conceived as he who in some sense saves the souls of men by revealing to them the knowledge of God which is rather a merging of being. "This actual present priest, who initiates you or me is himself already an image of God, but above him there are greater and wiser priests, above them, others, and above them all there is one eternal divine mediator, who being in perfection both man and God can alone reveal God fully in man, and lead man's soul up the heavenly path beyond change and fate and the Houses of the Seven Rulers to its ultimate peace." ¹

If we turn to the ancient literature of Zoroastrianism a doctrine of a Saviour (or Saviours) is also found. In the plural the term may sometimes mean the faithful who by their good deeds help in the work of final restoration. At other times they are the three descendants of Zarathustra—Hushedar, Hushedar Mah, and Saoshyant, each of whom comes at the end of a millennium, Saoshyant coming before the final triumph. In the *Dadistan-i-Dinik* they are represented as seven, one for each of the seven regions of the earth. Seeing that in Zoroastrianism suffering is so closely associated with sin in its different forms, the redemption from suffering will come with the salvation from sin. The Saviour "arranges the affairs of the world and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm." It is the last of the three who is above all the Saviour, the "Bringer of Salvation." Born of a virgin mother and conceived by the holy spirit of Zarathustra, he will accomplish the work of redeeming the world from demons by a crowning final victory. In the *Bahman Yast* the task of the Saviour is described as making the creatures pure in preparation for the resurrection and the future existence. In other places he is referred to as the one who shall bring resurrection and restore the true religion.

The religion of Mithraism, possibly of Persian origin, which spread over a large portion of the Roman Empire, becoming the most formidable religious opponent of Christianity, also contains the conception of a mediator. "Mithra was the mediator between the unapproachable and unknowable God, that reigned in the ethereal spheres, and the human race that struggled and suffered here below". ^{2, 3} "Mithra is the god of help, one who sustains his devotees in their frailty through all the tribulations of life". ⁴

1. Gilbert Murray : *Four stages of Greek Religion*.

2, 3, 4. Cumont : *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 143.

Few peoples have passed through so many painful experiences as the ancient Hebrews and their successors the Jews, and few have manifested so persistent an optimism. The Jew came to see in suffering not merely the punishment for sin, but also a means of divine preparation of his race for its religious mission in the world. In the feeling of the solidarity of the Jewish people in its purpose and in its suffering the Jews adopted a more social conception of suffering:—All might suffer through the sins of the few. In the same way, however, all might benefit by the good offices of one. Eventually suffering as the path by which higher levels of spiritual life were reached took upon itself a sacramental character, as in the teaching in Isaiah concerning the Suffering Servant of Israel. In later times this led on to the belief in the advent of a Messiah, who in saving his people from their sins would also bring to them a glorious triumph over suffering. Thus, though the Jew may look forward, as all men, to the cessation of suffering he does not regard it as entirely evil, rather it is a means of moral discipline and further a reality which leads men to turn to God. The conception of the Messiah or Saviour amongst the Jews has had various applications. At the time when messianic hopes were most intense the Messiah was most frequently regarded as a saviour of the Jewish people from their sufferings as oppressed by the Greeks and Romans. The Messiah was to overcome the enemy in one way or another, the chief probably by leading the people to true repentance and to complete submission and obedience to God and then by setting up a glorious kingdom in Jerusalem. Sooner or later (and the idea is present in the early legends preserved in the book of Genesis, see XII. 3 “and in thee (Abraham) shall all families of the earth be blessed”) a more universal aspect gained greater recognition, as the restoration of the Jewish people by the Messiah was conceived as a means for the salvation of humanity generally from suffering and sin and for the establishment of a universal kingdom of peace.

Amongst many Sunnis, Shiahs, and Asharites, the prophet Mahomet is believed to have a particular function in the salvation and redemption of men, though this belief is rejected by the Mutazilites and some other sects. In the *Traditions*,¹ Anas reports that Mahomet said that on the day of resurrection the people, being sore afflicted will approach Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, each of whom confessing his unworthiness will advise approach to the next one until Jesus counsels them to go to Mahomet. He will ask for divine permission to intercede on behalf of men. “Then I will place my forehead on the ground, praying and praising him, and will remain in that attitude till the Almighty Himself tells me, “Raise thy head, Mahomet : Ask and it shall be given; intercede and I will listen to thee”. Then I will raise my head

1. *Bokhari and Muslim*. Chapter on redemption.
Cf. of Ibn Hazim, Vol. IV, pp. 63—65.

up, praising Him in a manner which He Himself will reveal to me. "A limit will be fixed according to which the sinners will be brought out from hell. But I will again bow down praying Him for further forgiveness and thus another batch will have salvation". "And (afterwards) I will say to God none remains in hell but he who has been forbidden by the Quran, i. e., the Mushirks who associated other Gods with Him".

THE EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL

K. G. SANKARA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

IN our present state of historical knowledge, the earliest notice of Nepal is found in the inscriptions of Asoka Maurya (272 to 232 B.C.). It formed part of his empire, and he built a city named Lalitapatan or Lalitpur, which is still in existence $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-east of Kathmandu the modern capital, in memory of his visit to Nepal in 248 B. C. when he undertook the tour of the holy places. He was accompanied by his daughter Charumati who adopted a religious life and remained in Nepal when Asoka returned to the plains. She founded a town Devapatana in memory of her husband Devapala and settled down to the life of a nun at a convent built by her to the north of Pasupatinath, which bears her name to this day. Asoka erected at Lalitapatan five great stupas; one in the centre of the town, and four others outside the walls at the cardinal points, which still exist along with some minor buildings also attributed to Asoka or his daughter. It may be reasonably inferred from the fact of Kalinga being Asoka's only conquest, that Nepal must have been brought under subjection by his father Bindusara (297 to 272 B.C.), or his grandfather Chandragupta (321 to 297 B. C.) (V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 162).

Nepal is next noticed only in the Allahabad panegyric inscription of Samudragupta (350 A. D.) where it is referred to as one of the *Frontier States* (pratyanta) which Mr. V. A. Smith understood to indicate its antonomy under the suzerainty of Samudragupta, but which, in fact, as M. Sylvain Levi has pointed out, means that Nepal was one of the independant States that lay beyond the boundaries of Samudragupta's empire (*Le Nepal*, pp. 113-6). We may therefore infer that Nepal must have recovered its independance at some time between 232 B.C. and 350 A. D.

Thereafter our only sources of information concerning the early Kings of Nepal are the *Vamsavali* and the inscriptions of Nepal published by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol 13). We will therefore first examine the credibility of the *Vamsavali*, and then see what light the inscriptions throw on this subject.

The *Vamsavali* says that in the reign of the seventh King named Jitedasti of the third, that is, the Kirata dynasty, Sakyasimha Buddha came to Nepal and that the King assisted the Pandavas and was killed in the great Bharata war which, according to the *Vamsavali*, took place in 3102 B.C. But this means that Buddha came to Nepal *before* the Bharata war, whereas the Puranas uniformly place Buddha 24 generations *after* the Bharata war which, according to the Puranas, was fought at the earliest 1600 years before Chandragupta Maurya, that is, in $1600 + 321 = 1921$ B.C., and not in 3102 B.C. The *Mahabharata* says nothing whatever about any king of Nepal having helped the Pandavas, and the Kiratas whom it does mention, if they were indeed the Kiratas of Nepal, are said, on the contrary, to have helped the Kauravas and not the Pandavas (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 309—336). The *Vamsavali* seems, like Kalhana the historian of Kashmir, to have been ambitious of connecting its national history with the Bharata war. Besides, the author of the *Vamsavali* seems to have forgotten this statement of his when he made Bhumivarman, the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasty in Nepal and the 28th in descent from Jitedasti, a follower of the same Sakyasimha Buddha of Kapilavastu who had remained in Nepal after Buddha's departure (Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 114). Then the *Vamsavali* makes the fourteenth King of the third dynasty, Sthunko, a contemporary of King Asoka of Pataliputra (272 to 232 B.C.) who is thus made to live only seven generations, that is about 190 years after the Bharata war which, therefore, must have been fought not earlier than $272 + 190 = 462$ B.C. The accession of Bhumivarman the first Suryavamsi king, who came 21 generations *after* Sthunko and his contemporary Asoka is placed in 1712 B.C., that is, 1440 years *before* the accession of Asoka. 31 kings of the Suryavamsi dynasty are said to have ruled for 1610 years from 1712 to 102 B.C., that is, on an average of 52 years each which is obviously beyond the range of human experience. The 18th Suryavamsi Vrishadeva is said to have ruled for 61 years from 587 to 526 B.C. He is said to have built Viharas and erected images of Lokeshvara and other Buddhist divinities who, we now know (*J.R.A.S.* 1914, p. 679), were unknown before the 4th century B.C. In his reign Sankaracharya is said to have come to Nepal from the South, and to have destroyed the Buddhist faith there. But Sankara, even according to the most orthodox traditions, was born only in 509 B.C., that is, 17 years *after* Vrishadeva's *death*, in spite of the latter's liberal allowance of 61 years. Besides, if Sankara's visit to Nepal was a true event, it is strange that it should find no mention in any of the *Sankaravijayas* and even in the Nepal King Jayadeva's inscription dated Samvat 153 which merely refers to Vrishadeva as a Sangata, that is, a Buddhist, without even hinting about his conversion to Brahmanism by Sankara. This fact is all the more

significant for the reason that Jayadeva was a descendant of Vrishadeva. The coronation of the 23rd Suryavamsi Vasantadeva is said to have taken place in Kali 2800—302 B.C., and Suryavamsis 23rd to 31st are said to have ruled for 363 years, and yet Amsuvarman, the first Thakuri King, who succeeded the last Suryavamsi, is said to have ascended the throne not in 363—301=62 A.D., but in Kali 3000=102 B.C. In the reign of Visvadeva, the last of the Suryavamsis, King Vikramaditya is said to have come to Nepal and established his era of 58 B.C. there. But this is obviously impossible, whether we take Visvadeva to have ruled from 11 to 62 A.D., or, from 153 to 102 B.C. We may note too that it is extremely doubtful if any king Vikramaditya ruled over Malva in the first century B.C. Amsuvarman is said to have been the son-in-law of Visvadeva, while we know from Sivadeva's inscription (No. 5 of Bhagavanlal) that he was the masterful minister of Sivadeva who, according to the *Vamsavali* itself, was the fourth ancestor of Visvadeva. We know also that Amsuvarman was ruling not in the first century B.C., or A.D., but shortly before Hiuen Tshang visited Magada in 637 A.D. We know from inscriptions (Nos. 8 to 12 of Bhagavanlal) that Amsuvarman's immediate successors were Jishnugupta and Vishnugupta and not, as the *Vamsavali* fables, Kritavarman and Bhimarjuna, and that his dynasty was overthrown by Narendradeva of the Licchavy dynasty or became extinct through natural causes within 119—45=74 years of his death. The *Vamsavali*, on the contrary, gives a long pedigree of 18 Thakuri Kings. Amsuvarman and his successors, Thakuris 2nd and 3rd are said to have ruled for 248 years from 102 B.C. to 147 A.D. or from 62 to 310 A.D., giving us the extremely modest average of 83 years each. The 4th Thakuri Nandadeva is then said to have ruled for 25 years from 147 to 172 A.D. or from 310 to 335 A.D. And yet in his reign, the era of Salivahana (78 A.D.) is said to have been introduced into Nepal. But perhaps this statement is to be understood as saying that the Nepalese adopted the era in his reign and not that Salivahana himself introduced the era in Nepal. The 5th Thakuri, Viradeva, is said to have ruled for 95 years (the author is certainly liberal in his views on chronology) from 172 to 267 A.D., or, from 335 to 430 A.D. And yet he is also said to have been crowned in Kali 3400=299 A.D. In the reign of the 8th Thakuri, Varadeva, Sankara (who could have been neither the Adi Sankara 509 to 477 B.C., nor the Abhinava Sankara 788 to 839 A.D. of the orthodox Hindus) is said to have come to Nepal in about Kali 3623=522 A.D. Thakuris 9th to 14th are said to have ruled only for 82 years, and yet the accession of the 15th King Gunakamadeva is placed not in about 522+82=604 A.D., but in Kali 3824=723 A.D. The *Vamsavali* places the 15th to 17th Thakuris in the period 723 to 804 A.D. Yet the colophons of the manuscripts show that the immediate successors of

these kings ruled 200 years later between 1015 and 1039 A.D. These facts prove conclusively that the *Vamsavali* is absolutely useless, taken by itself, for determining the chronology and constructing the genealogy of the early kings of Nepal.

Now we come to the inscriptions. They are about fifteen in number. We will first digest the material inscriptions and then discuss their significance for constructive history.

Inscription No. 1 of Manadeva, dating Samvat 386, gives the genealogy as follows:—

- (1) Vrishadeva. His son
- (2) Sankaradeva. His son
- (3) Dharmadeva. His son
- (4) Manadeva.

Inscription No. 2, also of the reign of Manadeva dates Samvat 413.

Inscription No. 3, of Vasantasena dates Samvat 435.

Inscription No. 5, of Sivadeva "the banner of the Licchavi race" refers to "the great feudal chief Amsuvarman" as the adviser of Sivadeva and as one "who has destroyed the power of all Sivadeva's enemies by his heroic majesty."

Inscription No. 6, of 'the great feudal chief Amsuvarman' dates Samvat 34.

Inscriptions Nos. 7 and 8 of Amsuvarman date Samvat 39 and 45, and the former refers to Yuvaraja Udayadeva as the executive officer.

Inscription No. 9 of Sri Jishnugupta 'who has obtained a prosperous kingdom' dates Samvat 48 and refers to his contemporary Sri Dhruvadeva as 'Bhattaraka Maharaja,' to 'Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Sri Amsuvarmapadah' as his predecessor, and to Yuvaraja Sri Vishnugupta as the executive officer.

Inscription No. 10 of Jishnugupta acknowledges Dhruvadeva of the Licchavi race who resided at Managriha in Nepal as his lord paramount.

Inscription No. 12 of 'Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Sivadeva' dating Samvat 119 was issued from Kail-as-a-kuta, the palace of Amsuvarman and Jishnugupta, and not from Managriha, the Licchavi palace, and refers to 'Rajaputra Jayadeva' as the executive officer.

Inscription No. 14 probably of the same Sivadeva dating Samvat 1455 refers to Yuvaraja Sri Vijayadeva as the *dutaka*, that is, the executive officer.

Inscription No. 15 of Jayadeva dating Samvat 153 gives the following genealogy:—

- (1) Vrishadeva, a Sangata. His son
- (2) Sankaradeva. His son

- (3) Dharmadeva. His son
- (4) Manadeva. His son
- (5) Mahideva. His son
- (6) Vasantadeva. His son
- (7) Udayadeva ; then sprung from him
- (8 to 20) 13 kings, then
- (21) Narendradeva. His son
- (22) Sivadeva who married the daughter's daughter of Adityasena,
lord of Maghadha. His son
- (23) Jayadeva.

Now by collating the genealogies given in inscriptions Nos. 1 and 15, it is clear that the Kings Manadeva and Vasantadeva of inscriptions Nos. 1 to 3 certainly preceded and were the *remote* ancestors of the Kings Sivadeva and Jayadeva of inscriptions Nos. 12 to 15, and that therefore the dates 386, 413 and 435 of the former inscriptions must be in an earlier era than that of the dates 119, 145 and 153 of the latter inscriptions. We have therefore now to determine what the two eras are in which these inscriptions are dated.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tshang who visited India between 629 and 645 A. D. gives us an account of Nepal which he heard when he visited Magadha in 637 A. D. He says that the reigning king of Nepal was a Licchavi, that the kings of Nepal were Kshattriya Licchavis, eminent scholars and Buddhists and that "a *recent* King Amsuvarman had composed a treatise on etymology" (Watters: *on Hiuen Tshang*, Vol. 2, p. 84). In S. Beal's version, the last sentence appears as "*Lately there was* a king called Amsuvarman who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity, and had himself composed a work on *sounds*. He esteemed learning and respected virtue and his reputation was spread everywhere." The *Vamsavali* and the inscriptions know of only one Amsuvarman and the characters of Amsuvarman's inscriptions can belong to only the early part of the 7th century A.D. The words '*recent*' and '*lately there was*' suggest that Amsuvarman's reign had come to an end shortly before Hiuen Tshang's visit (637 A. D.), and from inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 we have to infer that Amsuvarman died and Jishnugupta succeeded him between Samvat 45 and 48. Thus the reckoning in which Amsuvarman dated his inscriptions is not later than $637 - 45 = 592$ A.D., and since we know of no era which started from towards the close of the 6th century A. D., we may reasonably infer that Amsuvarman dated his inscriptions in the years of his own reign, and his successors by continuing the use of that reckoning instead of dating their inscriptions in the years of their own reigns converted it into an era. Pandit Bhagavanlal, on the other hand, suggests that these inscriptions are dated in the Harsha era founded by Harshavardhana. Harsha is the hero

of Bana's *Harshacharita*, and was the ruler of Kanauj with Buddhist leanings when Hiuen Tshang visited India between 629 and 645 A. D. (*Watters*, Vol. 1, p. 343). He was the foe of Sasanka, King of Gauda or Karnasuvarna who is referred to by Hiuen Tshang as having lived in *recent* times (*Harshacharita*; *Watters*, Vol. 1, p. 343; Vol. 2, p. 115) and by the Ganjam copper-plates dated G. E. 300=619 A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, p. 143) as the contemporary Maharajadhiraja. He was also the foe of the Chalukya Pulakesin II who claims to have defeated Harsha in his Aihole inscription dated 634 A. D. (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. 6, p. 7) and of whom Hiuen Tshang writes (*Watters*, Vol. 2, p. 239). "The King of Maharashtra was Pulakesi, a Kshattriya by birth. Siladitya (that is, Harshavardhana. *Watters.*, Vol. 1, p. 343) at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and wide were giving in allegiance to him, but Maharashtra refused to become subject to him." When Hiuen Tshang visited Kanauj in 642 A. D., Harsha had in six years reduced the five Indies to subjection and had then reigned in peace for 30 years (*Watters*, Vol. 1, p. 343). So his accession dates $642-6-30=606$ A. D., and, in accordance with this, Alberuni found in a Kashmir almanac the era of Harsha placed 664 years after that of Vikramaditya. Thus the era of Sri Harsha began in 606 A.D. So if Bhagavanlal's suggestion is correct, inscription No. 8 of Amsuvarman would date $606+45=651$ A.D., that is, at least $651-637=14$ years after Amsuvarman died, according to Hiuen Tshang. Bhagavanlal tries to explain this difficulty by suggesting that the report about the then King of Nepal was either misrepresented to Hiuen Tshang or that he misunderstood it owing to a confusion of two dynasties ruling there simultaneously, but the assumption is needless and gratuitous. There is nothing to show that there were two *dynasties* ruling simultaneously in Nepal except the unreliable *Vamsavali*. Hiuen Tshang after saying that the reigning king and that the other kings generally of Nepal were Licchavis, adds that a *recent* king Amsuvarman had composed a treatise on etymology, thereby indicating that Amsuvarman also was a Licchavi and this inference is confirmed by the fact that Jayadeva in his inscription No. 15 includes, as we will show presently, Amsuvarman and his successors among the 13 kings sprung from Udayadeva, a Licchavi king. Moreover, Hiuen Tshang is a veracious writer and a traveller who took much care to get correct information both about the countries he visited and those he did not, as may be seen from his accounts of Malakuta and Simhala which he did not visit. Besides, he moved in the highest circles, in the company of kings and friars, and so was in a position to get correct information, and he distinctly mentions both the reigning Licchavi prince and Amsuvarman and does not identify them as he should have done if he had confounded them and if Amsuvarman was living when he visited Magadha, which would be the case if Amsuvarman had used the Harsha era.

Another consideration leads us to the same conclusion. We know that Harsha was the sole ruler of North India. In the north-east, he was acknowledged as lord paramount as far as Kamarupa (Assam) whose king Bhaskaravarman or Kumararaja conducted Hiuen Tshang to Harsha's court and attended his great religious gathering. But there is nothing to show that he conquered Nepal or set up his era or exercised any political influence whatever there. If he had, Hiuen Tshang would have had no difficulty at all in going there in person. The facts that Hiuen Tshang omitted to visit Nepal and that Amsuvarman, according to Hiuen Tshang, was a powerful ruler who possessed extraordinary ability and achieved great fame by his conquests as well as by his literary attainments, make it unlikely that Amsuvarman used the Harsha era, since such use would be a mark of servitude. Moreover, in the 7th century A.D., Nepal served as a bufferstate between the powerful kingdom of Tibet and the empire of Harsha. While still very young, Srong-tsan-gampo, the powerful King of Tibet (630-C. 698 A.D., *Smith*, p. 359), who was strong enough to compel the Emperor of China to give him the princess Wen-Cheng as second consort in 641 A.D. (*Smith*, p. 359), married Bhrikuti, a daughter of the King of Nepal in 639 A.D. In 643 A.D. when a Chinese embassy was sent to the court of Harsha, Nepal was a dependency of Tibet (*Smith*, p. 361). After Harsha's death in 647 A.D., Srong-tsan-gampo supplied the Chinese envoy Wang-Hiuen-Tse with a Nepalese contingent of 7,000 horsemen, Nepal at that time being subject to Tibet, against Arjuna, the usurper of Harsha's throne (*Smith*, p. 353). It is also certain that at the beginning of the 8th century A. D., Nepal was still dependant on Tibet and continued in that position for a considerable time (*Smith*, p. 366). Thus it is clear that in Amsuvarman's lifetime Nepal was independant, that after his death it became subject to the suzerainty of Tibet, that the superior influence of Tibet excludes the possibility of Harsha's interference in the affairs of Nepal and of his having introduced his era there, and that therefore the Harsha era of 606 A.D. could not have been in use in Nepal.

Pandit Bhagavanlal admits that in the published historical documents a direct confirmation of Harsha's invasion of Nepal is not traceable, but he suggests the inference from the reference to the Vikrama era having been introduced in Nepal found in the *Vamsavali* just before Amsuvarman's accession, and from the existence of Vais Rajputs in Nepal. But we have shown already that the *Vamsavali* is unreliable, and the reference to the Vikrama era has no bearing whatever on Harsha's invasion. Why should the *Vamsavali* preserve a reminiscence of the Indian conquest, when the supposed conquerors themselves modestly forbore from mentioning it? The inference from the Vais Rajputs, being based only on the resemblance in sound between

'*Vais*' and '*Vaisya*' the caste to which Sri Harsha belonged (*Watters*, Vol. 1, p. 343) is far-fetched and frankly conjectural. The date of the advent of the '*Vais*' Rajputs into Nepal and their connection with Harsha are unknown, and we need not necessarily conclude that Harsha the '*Vaisya*' settled '*Vais*' Rajputs in Nepal. Bhagavanlal argues that Sri Harsha could not have been a Vaisya for the reason that his sister Rajyasri was accepted in marriage by Grahavarman, the Mankhari king. But we should remember that caste prejudices were not very strong in those days, that Anuloma marriages (that is, of a man of a higher caste with a woman of a lower caste) had not yet been strictly prohibited, and that the Vardhanas were powerful even in the time of Harsha's father Prabhakaravardhana and elder brother Rajyavardhana. The respect, moreover, that Harsha showed for the Mankharis, and his pride in his relationship with them, though they were in his days politically unimportant, shows that he was conscious of his inferiority in caste by birth to the Mankharis.

'To establish an era is a wish dear to the heart of Indian princes' says Pandit Bhagavanlal himself with his usual candour, and Amsuvarman may well have founded an era of his own. That he was avowedly a Samanta (that is, feudal chief) at first is no objection, for he may not have formally started an era, but may have merely dated his inscriptions in the years of his own reign, and, after he asserted his independance, he may have converted it into an era dating back from the beginning of his rule, though in deference to his nominal master he may not have called it an era in the beginning. It may be noted that his earliest inscription dates only Samvat 34 and '*Samvat*' indicates an era. He may have called himself '*Mahasamanta*' out of respect for his old master who was still alive in Samvat 39 or out of habit as Pushyamitra calls himself '*Senapati*' even after he became King (*Malavikagnimitra*, Act 5), or as the Saka King Rudradaman called himself '*Mahakshatrapa*', even after he became independant and was no longer a satrap (Girnar inscription' *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 44). The title is dropped in his inscription of Samvat 45. In the reign of his successor Jishnugupta (Samvat 48) Amsuvarman is called 'Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Sri Amsuvarmapadah.' This shows that he refrained from appropriating the title to himself, merely out of modesty, though it was really his due. Though only an anointed king can initiate a Samvat (era), it may date back from the beginning of his reign. The terms of reference in Sivadeva's inscription No. 5 to Amsuvarman as his adviser, and as one 'who has destroyed the power of all Sivadeva's enemies by his heroic majesty,' the absence of all reference to a superior lord by Amsuvarman and his assumption of sovereign powers, e.g., appointing the Yuvaraja Udayadeva as his executive officer in his inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8, prove that he was powerful and independant even in his master's lifetime. Amsuvarman must

have been not only Sivadeva's minister, but the *de facto* ruler as well of the land. We may thus safely conclude that the inscriptions of Amsuvarman and Jishnugupta are dated in Amsuvarman's own era starting from about $635-45=590$ A.D.

Therefore Amsuvarman ruled from 590 to 635 A.D., first as the minister of Sivadeva I and then as an independant sovereign. The latter died shortly after $590+39=629$ A.D., since Udayadeva is called only Yuvaraja even in Samvat 39 (inscription No. 7)=629 A.D. Then Udayadeva succeeded Sivadeva I but ruled for less than 9 years, since in Samvat 48=638 A.D., the Licchavi King was Dhruvadeva and not Udayadeva (inscription No. 9). The Licchavi Kings resided at Managriha and ruled over Eastern Nepal (inscription No. 10), while Amsuvarman and Jishnugupta resided at Kailasakutabhavana and ruled over Western Nepal (inscriptions Nos. 6 to 10), but both the palaces were in Kathmandu. Jishnugupta succeeded Amsuvarman, since he dates his inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10) from Kailasakuta and because he mentions Amsuvarman as his predecessor. In Samvat 48=638 A.D. (inscription No. 9), he refers to his having obtained a prosperous kingdom, to his own 'victorious and prosperous reign' and to his contemporary Licchavi Sri Dhruvadeva merely as an equal (Bhattaraka Maharaja) but with the usual respect, and he also indicates that his son was the Yuvaraja Vishnugupta. But by the time he issued inscription No. 10, he had to recognise the suzerainty of Sri Dhruvadeva Licchavi and it is significant that in this inscription Amsuvarman's era is not used, confirming our conclusion as to the origin of that era. Thus the double government does not seem to have lasted for more than about a century.

Now we have to consider the era in which inscriptions Nos. 12 to 15 are dated. From inscription No. 15, we learn that Jayadeva was the son of the daughter's daughter of Adityasena, lord of Magadha. The latter asserted his independance after the death of the paramount sovereign Harsha in 647 A.D. and even presumed to celebrate the horse sacrifice in token of his claim to supreme rank (*Smith*, p. 313). From the Aphsar inscription which contains the names of the later Guptas, the Shahpur inscription which records the dedication of a statue to Surya and the Deo-Barnak inscription which contains a grant of land made to the Varunavasibhattaraka, we know that Adityasena ruled in about Harsha Samvat 88=694 A.D. Since he began to rule in about 647 A.D., 694 A.D., must mark the close of his reign. The date 153 for Jayadeva (inscription No. 15) equals 759 A.D., if it is in the Harsha era, and his accession must date after $145+606=751$ A.D. (inscription No. 14), when he was only Yuvaraja. This gives us an interval of $(751 \text{ to } 759) - 647 = 104$ to 112 years for the 3 generations from Adityasena to Jayadeva, of which

moreover the intervening two generations were females. This is obviously impossible and so Jayadeva's and his father Sivadeva's dates 119, 145 and 153 (=709, 735 and 743 A.D.) must be in Amsuvarman's era. In 709 A.D. (inscription No. 12), Jayadeva was old enough to be entrusted with the execution of a mission, but not old enough to be a Yuvaraja since then he was called merely a '*Rajaputra*,' while in 735 A.D., he was called Yuvaraja. Since the Hindu age of majority is 16, in 709 A.D. Jayadeva was about 15 years of age, and he was hence born in C. 694 A.D. In this case the interval for the 3 generations from Adityasena to Jayadeva would be (735 to 743)— $647=88$ to 96 years, a more reasonable figure. And this scheme fits well with the date 152 Harsha era = 758 A.D., for Adityasena's great grandson in the male line (Deo-Barnak inscription). Inscription No. 12 of 'Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Sivadeva' dating from Kailasakuta, Amsuvarman's palace, instead of from the Licchavi palace Managriha, indicates that before $119+589=708$ A.D., the complete sovereignty of Nepal had reverted to the Licchavi Kings, and, when the usurpers ceased to exist, their era was continued by the victors or reversioners according as the Licchavis had their powers restored to them by conquest or by the natural heirlessness of the usurpers. That they thus continued Amsuvarman's era without any hesitation clearly indicates that the usurpers too were Licchavis, for which inference a further confirmation will be indicated below.

Next we must determine the era in which the inscriptions of the earlier kings are dated. We have shown that they were the remote ancestors of Jayadeva, and Sivadeva I, Udayadeva II, Dhruvadeva, Amsuvarman, Jishnugupta and Vishnugupta can get in in the genealogy of inscription No. 15 only under the 13 unnamed successors of Udayadeva I. Otherwise in the interval between Jishnugupta's Samvat 48 and Sivadeva II's Samvat 119, that is, within a period of $119-48=71$ years, we will have to place the 7 generations from Vrishadeva to Udayadeva I which, with its average of 10 years each, is obviously impossible. So Vasantadeva's Samvat 435 (inscription No. 3) must be earlier than Amsuvarman's era of 590 A.D. For this reason we cannot date the earlier inscriptions in the Gupta era, for that would make Vasantadeva's Samvat $435=435+319=754$ A.D. later than even his remote descendant Jayadeva's Samvat $153=743$, or at least later than Sivadeva II's Samvat $145=145+606=751$ A.D. even if we take it to have been dated in the Harsha era. Thus the earlier inscriptions are dated in an era not later than $590-435=155$ A.D. Pandit Bhagavanlal says of these inscriptions that the figures in them show the flowing locks which occur frequently on the sculptures of the Gupta period, and that the form of the letters agrees exactly with that of the Gupta inscriptions, thereby indicating that all these

inscriptions dating from 386 to 435 must be placed in the Gupta period 320 to 550 A.D. So the era in which they are dated would start from between $386-319=67$ B.C., and $550-435=115$ A.D. The only eras we know of between these limits are the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and the Saka era of 78 A.D. Of these, the Vikrama era is used only in Northern India while the Saka era is used only in Southern India and in the Indian astronomical handbooks. So the probability is in favour of the former and not of the latter era having been in use in Nepal.

If they are assigned to the Saka era, Vasantadeva's Samvat 435 dates $435+78=513$ A.D., and since the last date of Manadeva is $413+78=491$ A.D., and a King Mahideva ruled in the interval of $513-491=22$ years between Manadeva's 413 and Vasantadeva's 435, Samvat 435= 513 A.D. falls in the beginning of Vasantadeva's reign. The maximum interval for the 17 kings of 14 generations (as we will show presently) from Vasantadeva to Sivadeva II inclusive is 742 A.D. (=Jayadeva's Samvat 153) - 513 A.D.=219 years, giving an average of only $15\frac{1}{2}$ years each which is obviously too low, if we consider that the period includes the reigns of Sivadeva I for more than 30 years and of Sivadeva II for more than 26 years. But if we date the earlier inscriptions in the Vikrama era, we get an interval of $219-135$ (the interval from the Vikrama era to the Saka era)=354, giving us the reasonable average of $25\frac{1}{2}$ years each. It is therefore certain that the earlier inscriptions are all dated in the Vikrama era.

It is significant that, in inscription No. 15, no reference whatever is made to the rule of the 3 usurpers Amsuvarman, Jishnugupta and Vishnugupta, not even by way of boasting of the recovery of the complete sovereignty from the usurpers by one of his immediate ancestors. It is also to be noted that Jayadeva's purpose in not naming the 13 kings after Udayadeva I seems to have been to avoid mentioning both the usurpation and the recovery, and also to avoid the perpetuation thereby of the names of the usurpers. If the usurpers also were Licchavis, this is easily explained, for delicacy of feeling would be expected in the case of interfamily quarrels, but not in the case of quarrels with mere strangers. And one of the usurpers Amsuvarman having been a king of such distinction as to bring credit to his Licchavi race, Jayadeva would naturally be reluctant to brand him as an usurper. If we grant that Amsuvarman and his two successors also were included among the 13 unnamed kings sprung from Udayadeva I, then we would have only 14 and not 17 generations from Vasantadeva to Sivadeva II inclusive. These 14 or 17 generations would have flourished for a period of 736 (=Samvat 146)= 378 (=Samvat 435)=358 years, giving an average of $25\frac{1}{2}$ or 21 years each. Since the former figure is nearer the usual average, and since it is natural that, if

the usurpers were also Licchavis, they would also be included among the 13 unnamed kings, we may reasonably suppose they were in fact so included.

We are now in a position to determine the dates of accession of the early kings of Nepal. An examination of the chronology of the various Indian dynasties reveals to us the fact that, under normal conditions, the average duration of a king's reign is from about 25 to 30 years, usually nearer the former than the latter figure. We may therefore choose 27 years as the average. This average is also confirmed by the fact that, in the case of regular succession from father to son, the average is determined by the interval between two succeeding generations and not by the duration of the reigns of individual kings, that is, by the age when an Indian king becomes the father of an eldest son which is usually 27 years after his birth. But if the known dates of any dynasty indicate a different average for any particular group of kings in that dynasty, we will have in connection with that group to choose that average in preference to the usual average. Acting on these principles, we will now determine the early chronology of Nepal. Amsuvarman's accession dates C. 590 A.D., and he ruled for neither more nor less than 45 years, since his inscription No. 8 dates Samvat 45, and since 45 is very much above the usual average. So Jishnugupta's accession dates $590 + 45 = 635$ A.D. If we allow him and his son Vishnugupta the usual 27 years, the latter's accession dates 662 A.D. The known dates for Manadeva give him exactly 27 years, from 329 to 356 A.D. So we infer that the accessions of Vrishadeva, Sankaradeva and Dharmadeva date respectively 248, 275 and 302 A.D. Since Manadeva's latest date is Samvat 413, and Vasantadeva's earliest date is Samvat 435, the intervening Mahideva ruled for only $435 - 413 = 22$ years from 356 to 378 A.D. Taking Vasantadeva's accession to date Samvat 435 = 378 A.D., we get for the accession of Udayadeva the date $378 + 27 = 405$ A.D. We know that Sivadeva I, being a contemporary of Amsuvarman, ascended the throne about 590 A.D., and that Udayadeva's reign came to an end about $405 + 27 = 432$ A.D. So in the interval of about $590 - 432 = 158$ years there must have ruled $158/27 = 6$ kings. So we may place these 6 unknown kings in the period from 432 A.D. to $432 \times 6 + 27 = 594$ A.D. Therefore Sivadeva's accession dates about 594 A.D. He was still living in about $590 + 39 = 629$ A.D., since his son Udayadeva II is referred to in that year as only Yuvaraja in inscription No. 7. But since $629 - 594 = 35$ years are much above the usual average, we may assume Sivadeva I died and Udayadeva II ascended the throne in 630 A.D. But since Dharmadeva is referred to as the Licchavi King in $590 + 48 = 638$ A.D. (inscription No. 9), Udayadeva must have died after a reign of only $637 - 630 = 7$ years, and Dhruvadeva must have ascended the throne in 637 A.D.

The interval between the date of accession of Dhruvadeva, and the earliest date for Sivadeva II Samvat 119=709 A.D. is $709-637=72$ years, and we know of only two kings Dhruvadeva and Narendradeva who ruled in this period. But this would give them an average of 36 years each. So we must assume that an unknown king ruled in Nepal between these two kings. This inference is confirmed by the fact that we will get the 13 kings between Udayadeva I and Narendradeva, as required by inscription No. 15, only if we include the 3 usurpers and *also* assume the existence of such an unknown king. Thus for Dhruvadeva, the unknown king, and Narendradeva we get an average of $72/3=24$ years each, and their accessions date 637, 661 and 685. Then the accession of Sivadeva II dates, as we have seen, 709 A.D., and if we allow the usual average for him and his son Jayadeva, the latter's accession dates 736 A.D. These results lead us to infer that in about 689 A.D., Narendradeva, either by conquering Vishnugupta, or because Vishnugupta died heirless, recovered the sovereignty of Western Nepal also. We may therefore tabulate our results as follows:—

<i>Names of the Licchavi Kings and the Usurpers.</i>	<i>Approximate period of their reigns.</i>
(1) Vrishadeva	... 248 to 275 A.D.
(2) Sankaradeva	... 275 to 302 A.D.
(3) Dharmadeva	... 302 to 329 A.D.
(4) Manadeva	... 329 to 356 A.D.
(5) Mahideva	... 356 to 378 A.D.
(6) Vasantadeva	... 378 to 405 A.D.
(7) Udayadeva I	... 405 to 432 A.D.
(8 to 13) 6 unknown kings	... 432 to 594 A.D.
(14) Sivadeva I	... 594 to 630 A.D.
(15) <i>Amsuvarman</i>	... 590 to 635 A.D.
(16) Udayadeva II	... 630 to 637 A.D.
(17) <i>Jishnugupta</i>	... 635 to 662 A.D.
(18) Dhruvadeva	... 637 to 661 A.D.
(19) An unknown king	... 661 to 685 A.D.
(20) <i>Vishnugupta</i>	... 662 to 689 A.D.
(21) Narendradeva	... 685 to 709 A.D.
(22) Sivadeva II	... 709 to 736 A.D.
(23) Jayadeva	... 736 to 763 A.D.

BHUSHANA-LAKSHANAM

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF ORNAMENTS USUALLY WORN BY INDIAN IMAGES.

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THOSE who have had an occasion to refer to my work on Hindu iconography will have noticed the phrase "adorned with all ornaments" * occurring often in the description of images and will have been puzzled to know what exactly were the number or ornaments and where they were worn. Since ornaments, in fact, change with the times and the fashions current at particular periods, it is not easy to guess what ornaments are included in the indefinite phrase "all ornaments". Therefore, it is imperative on my part to give now a detailed description of the ornaments worn usually by Indian images.

I use the word *Indian* above instead of *Hindu* advisedly and not inadvertently, because, the ornaments worn by the images of the Jaina, Buddha and Hindu religions are the same; again, the ornaments are identically the same as those of Indian even though the image is found in Ceylon, Java and any other country whose civilization and religion have been profoundly affected by those of India. For example, see the figure of the Bōdhisatva of the Madras Museum reproduced on Plate XC of Mr. O. C. Ganguli's *South Indian Bronzes*; he calls this a Jaina image, which it is not; for, notice the small figure of Buddha seat in the *pūrita* of the *jaṭamakuta*. Also the figure of Tārā-bhavati facing p. 20, Introduction, Volume I, Shimoga District, *Epigraphia Carnatica*; of the Prajñāpāramitā on Plates IV and V of Mr. Ananda K. Coomarasvami's Viśvakrama (Javanese image) and the figure of Padmāvati-dēvi of the Jaina iconography.

The descriptions of the ornaments worn by images are found in the *Aṃśumadbhēdāgama*, the *Mānasāra*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Pādma-saṃhitā* and a few other *āgamas*. Mr. O. C. Ganguli, the author of the "South Indian Bronzes" devotes a small paragraph for noticing the "characteristic ornaments and the decorative accessories of the (S. Indian) figures". He seems to have learnt the names in Tamil of three or four ornaments, which he transcribes in English in his usual Bengali way of spelling. For instance, he speaks of *arunōnmālai*, *Urumālai* and *ratnakodara bandham*. In the forms in which the words are written they would convey no meaning to the

*This is the translation of the phrase सर्वाभरणभूषिता occurring in the Sanskrit texts.

readers. The first of these words is evidently *arai-ñāṇ-mālai*, the pendants hanging from the *araiñāṇ*, the Tamiḻ word for *kaṭisūtra*. The only hangings from the *kaṭisūtra* are the *Ūrudāmas*, whose vulgar form *ūrumālai*, has been given by the South Indian workman to Mr. Ganguli. In the fashion in which he has transcribed the word, it means the turban-cloth or a small upper garment in Tamiḻ. The *araiñāṇ-mālai* and *ūru-mālai* appear to mean the same thing; the former does not seem to refer to the *kaṭisūtra* as he takes it. *Ratna-kodara bandha* is evidently a mistake for *ratnakōdara-bandha*, the *udara-bandha* made of gems. *Bāhu-mālai*, he states, refers to "festoons hanging down the ear-ornament across the shoulders". When we deal with the description of this ornament, it will become patent that this is no part of the ear-ornament. He believes that the *kaṭi-bandha*, the *ratnakōdara-bandha*, etc., are borrowed by the South Indian sculptors from the Buddhist sculpture of Ceylon, an assumption which is far from the fact.

The ornaments generally met with on the person of Indian images are :—

- I. The Makuṭa,*
- II. The Kuṇḍala,
- III. The Upagriya,
- IV. The Hāra,
- V. The Hṛimālā,
- VI. The Skandha-mālā,
- VII. The Udarabandha,
- VIII. The Chhannavira,
- IX. The Kēyūra,
- X. The Kaṭakavalaya,
- XI. The Aṅguli,
- XII. The Yajñōpavita,
- XIII. The Kaṭisūtra,
- XIV. The Uru-dāma and
- XV. The Pāda-Jālaka.

The exact places wherein they are worn over the person of a human being are shown in Plate I. These ornaments are mentioned in a large number of the inscriptions of the Bṛihadiśvara temple at Tanjore, in which occur minute descriptions of the number and nature of the gems and pearls and other precious articles which were employed in making them. Here the ornaments often bear tamiḻ names which I have added in the descriptions given below. The Saṅskṛit texts bearing on the descriptions being very important for the further study of the subject, if any be needed in the future, are also given as an appendix to this article.

*The numbers given here are not serial but follow the order noted on Plate I.

In the following descriptions of the above-mentioned fifteen principal ornaments, the texts of the *Aṃśumadbhēdāgama* (the *Kāśyapīya* quoted by Mr. Ganguli), the *Mānasāra* and the *Śilpa-ratna* have been found to be of great help. I recently came across a good copy of the text of the *Aṃśumadbhēdāgama* which had a valuable Tamil translation of it made by one Pichcha Pillai, of the Vaidyakula; he seems to be an expert in *Śilpa-sāstra*. The colophon to the translation (in Saṃskṛit) reads thus :—

धन्वन्तरिकुलारख्येन भिक्षुना येन धीमता काश्यपस्य महत्टीका कृता द्राविडरूपिणी ॥*

This Tamil translation was also found to be of great help in putting into proper shape the mutilated text and also in comprehending its correct meaning.

The ornaments, according to the *Mānasāra*, are four kinds, namely, *patra-kalpa*, *Chitra-kalpa*, *ratna-kalpa* and *miśra-kalpa*. All these varieties are stated to be equally good for gods; the *ratna* and the *miśra-kalpa* ornaments are suitable for Adhirājēndras among kings and the *miśra-kalpa* is fit for all other kings. The ornaments which contain (evidently of pure gold on which are wrought) leaf and creeper designs are called *patra-kalpa*; those with flower and creeper designs, the *chitra-kalpa*; those which are adorned with precious stones, the *ratna-kalpa* and those which are a mixture of all the three sorts are known as the *miśra-kalpa*.

In the earlier periods of the history of India, golden ornaments with different, very pretty designs, bearing only a few, but very valuable gems† set in them, were made; whereas in later and more modern times, they are practically wholly made of gems, more so, if the temple happened to be a richly endowed one. In the earlier times pearls played an important part in jewellery, but in later times, perhaps owing to scarcity of this article or on account of its high price, it was not so largely employed.

I. The Makutas.

The head-gear of the gods is known by the name of *makuta*. The *makuta* is of three kinds, the *kiriṭa-makuta*, the *karandā-makuta* and the *jaṭā-makuta*. Of these, the *kiriṭa-makuta* is prescribed for Viṣṇu among the gods and to the *Chakravartī* among kings. In an article on “Kings,

* The colophon in Tamil reads thus :—

புத்திமானாய வைத்திய வம்சத்திலே ஜனித்திருப்பானாயிருக்கிற பிச்சைப்பிள்ளை
யென்று பெயரையுடையவனாலே காசியபத்துக்கு தமிழாலே உறையிடப்
பட்டது.

† In an inscription at Kanyākumārī the Chōla king Virarājēndradēva is said to have presented to the god of Chidambaram a famous ruby known as the *ṭṭailōkyasāra*. The *Koh-i-nur*, the Pitt diamond and other famous gems are believed to have been removed from Hindu images.

Crowns and Thrones in Ancient and Medieval India" contributed by me to the February issue of 1917 of the *Modern Review*, I have dealt with the different kinds of *makuta*s, to which the attention of the readers may be drawn for a detailed study of this subject. I shall only extract here from that article the portion which gives the description of the *kirita-makuta*.

"The *Kirita-makuta* should resemble the shoot (or leaf) of the bamboo (*Vēnu-karṇa* or *Vēnu-parṇa*)". The *kirita*s may, according to the *Śilparatna*, also resemble the egg, the lotus bud, the umbrella or the tortoise, "The number of ornaments which decorate the *kirita-makuta* . . . are named the *pūrita tunga-tāra*, *agrapatta*, *trivēdikā*, *trivētraka*, *padma*, *kutmala* and the *śikhāmaṇi*. . . . The ornament *pūrita* is required to have *makaras* gracing it; the centre and top of the *pūrita* should be set with precious stones; creeper ornaments or (strings of pearls) should proceed from the mouth of the *makaras*; the remaining portions of the *pūrita* should be embellished with creepers, leaves, etc." There should be a *pūrita* each on the four sides of a *kirita*. "Another be-jewelled ornament, similar to the *pūrita* is the *patta-bandha* which is attached to the front of the *patta* or the broad band which runs round the crown immediately above the forehead. The other portions of the *kirita-makuta* are decorated with the members called the *mauli-bandha*, *valli* (creepers) and the *muktā-hāra*. The base of the *kirita-makuta* should be curved like a crescent moon just above the forehead and should possess leaf-like ornamental discs called the *karṇa-patras*, each standing over the ears. The lower rim of the *kirita* should have a series of *muktā-hāras* hanging all round. Above the ears and just below the *karṇa-patras*, apparently issuing from the place where the ear joins the head, should be the *karṇa-pushpas*, from which strings of pearls and beads of precious stones should be hanging. It is stated that the *kirita-makuta* should be of circular section throughout". (See figures 6 and 4 on Plate II, as also the crown on the head of the figure on Plate I).

The *karanda-makuta* is a crown made in the shape of a *karanda* which is a bowl-shaped vessel. It is either tall and tapering or short in height and small in size, and consists of a number of *karandas* of decreasing size placed one over the other; the number of these must be three, five or seven. Like all other *makutas*, this variety is also adorned with *pūritas*, *pattas*, *patta-bandhas*, *muktahāras* and *śikhāmaṇi*. This sort of crown is prescribed to Dēvis (or goddesses) and to subordinate kings. (See figures 3 and 5 on Plate II).

The *Jatā-makuta* is described completely in all the *Śaivāgamas*. The following is the description as found in the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama*. The word *jatā* means either matted or plaited hair; in the earliest period, the *jatā*

appears to be plaited and not twisted hair as is seen from the *jata-bandha* on the head of the figure of Śiva sculptured on the unique Liṅga of the temple at Guḍimallam. (See the face of this Śiva on Plate III, Volume II, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.) It is only in later times, it becomes twisted hair. The *jatā-makuta* is made up of twists of *jatās* done up into the form of a tall cap. It is formed by taking five *jatās* or braids of hair and tying them into a knot three *āṅgulas* in height, by coiling them into one or three loops, the remaining braids being bound and taken through and left hanging on both sides of the *makuta* thus formed. This kind of *makuta* must also be adorned with a number of ornamental discs called the *makara-kūta*, the *patra-kūta*, the *ratna-kūta*, and the *pūritas*. The *makara-kūta* which should adorn the front of the *jatā-makuta* has seven holes all round its centre. On the three remaining sides, or even on all four sides there may be only the *pūritas*; or the *pūritas* may be on the left and right sides the *makarakūta* in front and a *patra-kūta* or the *ratna-kūta* at the back. The height of the *pūritas* should be twelve *āṅgulas*. The girth of this sort of *makuta* must necessarily be the same as that of the head; its width at the top should be a seventh, a eighth or a ninth less than that at the bottom. If the *jatā-makuta* belongs to Śiva, there must be on its right side the flowers of the *datura* plant, a cobra and the figure of Gaṅgā and on the left the crescent moon. The thickness of each *jatā* must be equal to that of the little finger. (For *jatā-makutas* see figures 1 and 2 on Plate II).

II. Kundalas.

Kuṇḍalas are ornaments worn on the ear-lobe which is bored for that purpose. In ancient and medieval times the hole was widened by artificial means, so that the ear-lobe assumed the shape of a loop, the strip of flesh of which it was composed descended as far down as the shoulders. This custom is still in vogue in Malabar. The large holes thus formed in the ear-lobes bore in olden times different kinds of ear-ornaments; they were called the *śaṅkha-patra*, the *makara-kuṇḍala*, the *simha-kuṇḍala*, the *vṛitta-kuṇḍala*, etc.

The *śaṅkha-patra* is a highly polished spiral of the conch-shell which is obtained by cutting across the conch. A fair sized conch is about three inches in diameter and slices cut across it will yield spirals of about three inches in diameter and the thickness of the shell will be about a eighth of an inch. The *Amśumadbhēdagama*, etc., require the *śaṅkha-patra* to be three, four or five *āṅgulas* in diameter and a *yava* in thickness; or, its diameter may be three times the thickness of the strip of flesh of the hanging lobe of the ear (*nāḷa*). These conch-shell ear-ornaments are generally engraved with fine designs in low relief and are polished into very fine white shining surfaces. In the case of Śiva and a few other deities, both the ears are not adorned with ear-ornaments of the same design. In the left ear the *śaṅkha-patra* is

used and the *makara* or other *kuṇḍalas* in the right ear. (See figure 9, Plate III).

The *makara-kuṇḍala* is fashioned in the shape of *makara* whose body is made to assume a circular form, its tail often ending near its head. It is the ornament generally worn by Viṣṇu, Subrahmaṇya, etc., among the gods and by most of the goddesses. It is now commonly worn in Southern India by those brāhmaṇas who have performed a *yāga*. It is of solid gold, with a couple of rubies set up in the eyes of the *makara*. The width and height of the *makara-kuṇḍala* should be three, four or five *āṅgulas*; the ear-lobe with the ornament should reach the shoulders and very nearly touch it. (See figures 1, 2 and 3 on Plate III).

The description of the *simha-kuṇḍala* is found in none of the works consulted; but we know from the actual examples found in a number of places that it consists of a broad ring the centre of which is occupied by a lion or sometimes its face only. In dimensions it is practically similar to the other ear-ornaments. It is seen generally associated with the *terrific* deities, more especially with the *dvārapālakas*. Instead of the *simha*, an elephant is sometimes met with. (See figure 15 on Plate III).

The *vṛitta-kuṇḍala* has the shape either of the flower of the plantain tree or of the lotus. Its width is eighteen *yavas* and length four *āṅgulas*. (See figures 11, 13 and 14 on Plate III). Or it is a flat ring hollow in the middle space and having a groove in its rim to receive the extended ear-lobe. It is a plain unadorned golden ornament of the same diameter as the other ear-ornaments. (See figure 10 on Plate III).

The *ratna-kuṇḍala* is the same as the circular *vṛittakuṇḍala* but set with precious stones. (See figures 6, 7 and 12 on Plate III).

The *sarpa-kuṇḍala* usually found worn by Śiva is made in the shape of a cobra with extended hood and with its body coiled into the shape of circle or spiral. (See figures 4 and 5 on Plate III).

The Tamiḷ equivalent of *kuṇḍala* is *tōḍu* or *vāḷi* and is employed in the inscriptions of Rājārāja I and Rājendra-chōḷadēva I in their Tanjore inscriptions. A variety called the *vaḍuga-vāḷi*, meaning the *vāḷi* as used in the Vaḍuga, Norther or Telugu-Kannada countries is also mentioned. From the mere mention of it, it is not possible to make out its exact shape.

III. The Upagriva.

The *upagriva* is an ornament worn round the neck. This should occupy a place above the *hikkā-sūtra*. It consists of a *rudrākṣa* seed, a bead of any precious stone or a bead made of gold, strung in a golden wire or string. In actual sculpture this ornament does not consist of a single bead but of at least three, of which the middle one is often of a somewhat elongated barrel shape; there are long facets worked on it along its length, the side beads are

spherical, with facets cut parallel to the hole in it and a necking on either end of the hole. These beads, as also the barrel-shaped ones, are now and then discovered in old *stūpas* and other ruins. They must have once adorned the necks of the images set up in those ruined structures. In the Tanjore inscriptions the *upagriva* is known by the various names *kantha-ttudar*, *tālī-maṇi-vaḍam*, *tīraḷ-maṇi-vaḍam*, *kantha-nāṇ* and *urudrākshachchuri* or *kanthikai*. In describing the last two, the text of the inscription states that they consist of a golden string with a single *rudrāksha* bead strung in it. (See the upper members in figures, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 on Plate IV.) In these figures they are almost on a level with the *hāras* and not above the *hikkā-sūtra*.

VII. The Hara.

The *hāra* is another neck-ornament of more or less elaborate workmanship; it is often set with precious stones. It should hang six *angulas* below the *hikkā-sūtra*, that is, about the middle of the chest; it should be four *angulas* in width and three *yavas* in thickness and be set with different kinds of precious stones. It must be beautifully designed and therefore it is most frequently one of the best designed of Indian ornaments. In the Tanjore inscriptions it is called the *pura-ttudar*. In sculptures of the Hoysala style, we see that in the front middle of this ornament, or throughout its course are festoons of pearls hanging; sometimes there are also met with one or more little pendants bearing precious stones in them. (See the lower member in figures 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 and figure 3 on Plate IV.)

IV. The Hrinmāla.

Another ornament worn round the neck is the *hrinmālā*. This should hang as far below as the *udarabandha*. This is also known by the name of *akshamālā* (*Śilparatna*.) According to the Tanjore inscriptions, however, it receives its correct name from the number of strands or strings of which it is composed, thus, *ēkāvalli*, *trisari*, *pañcha-sari* and *sapta-sari*, all of which are included under the general appellation *tiru-mālai*. In one instance, *ēkāvalli* is said to be one string of pearls. The *Aṃśumadbhēdāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, etc., however state that it is a necklace composed of a number of *rudrāksha* seeds. Excepting in rare instances, the *hrin-mālā* consists of strings of pearls bound together at regular intervals with square or circular jewelled discs. In the Hoysala style there are subsidiary smaller festoons of pearls in the front middle portions of the *hrin-mālās*. The more modern types have big circular or oval shaped medallions, *padakas* as they are called, hanging below the *hrin-mālās*; these *padakas* are lined at their lower end with a row of pearls which are of decreasing sizes as they recede from the centre. (See Figs. 1 to 6 on Plate V).

V. The Skandha-mālā.

The *Skandha-mālā* is either a small loop of pearls, golden flowers, etc., hung, epaulette-like, over the shoulders; or, it is a small string of pearls, flowers, etc., hanging vertically down the shoulders parallel to the necklaces. These should descend, according to the Sanskrit Text, as far below as the armpit. The *skandha-mālās* cannot be attached, as Mr. O. C. Ganguli thinks, to the ear-ornaments; they very likely form a part of the necklaces. The *āgamas* are silent about their connection with the other adjacent ornaments or how they are held in position. This particular ornament, the *skandha-mālā*, is never found in earlier sculptures such as of the Gupta period, as may be seen from the Deogarh examples; in the Pallava period, in the Mahābalipuram, etc., sculptures; in the early Western Chālukya period whose sculptures are seen in the caves at Ellora and in the Aihole and the Paṭṭadakal and of even the early Chōla period. It makes its appearance in the later Chōla and the Hoysala periods and is invariably found in all subsequent sculptures. (For the *skandha-mālā* see Pl. I, Fig. 2, Plate II and Figs. 2 and 3, Pl. VIII).

IX. Udarabandha.

The *udarabandha* is a broad belt which encircles the body at the place where the chest and the abdomen meet; to be more exact, it must be bound round the body at a place three *anṅulās* above the *udara* or the belly. It may be one, two or three *anṅulās* in width and as many *yavas* in thickness; it must be set with various precious stones and be of excellent workmanship. It is not quite clear how it is held *in situ*; perhaps the *chhannavira* keeps it in position. (See Pl. I, Fig. 4, Pl. VI, Figs. 2, 3 and 4, Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2, Pl. VIII and Fig. 7, Pl. X). The *udarabandha* is indeed an old ornament met with in sculptures of all periods.

X. The Chhannavira.

The *Chhannavira* is a sort of double *yajñōpavītas* which start from both the shoulders, descend across the body both in front and the back and are joined by a sort of medallion at their junction in front (and the back?). This is worn by both gods and goddesses. In sculpture it is found hanging, in some instances, as far as the junction of the chest with abdomen, or just a little below the *udarabandha* and in others, below the *katisutra*. (In the illustrations accompanying this paper, the *Chhannavira* is shown only on the persons of female images; it is, however, not intentional, but purely accidental in so far as the images wearing this ornament chosen by me came to be goddesses. See Fig. 3, Plate VIII and Figs. 4 and 6, Plate IX).

VIII. The Keyura.

The jewelled band worn on the upper arm is called the *kēyūra* and is an ornament of great beauty and very good workmanship. It is made in different

fashions, some with a full blown lotus in the middle, others with a *pūrita* similar to that found on *makutas* and yet others merely broad bands set with jewels and of elaborate designs. The lotus of the first kind of *kēyūra* should have eight petals and must be set with various precious stones. The thickness of this band is the same as that of the *valaya* worn on the forearm. In the *kēyūra* with the *pūrita*, the latter appears to be made so as to be inserted whenever required; for this purpose, the *pūrita* is to have a tenon-like piece which fits into a hole in the arm-band; its thickness is required to be the same as that of the band. The width of the *pūrita* is that of the arm; or it may be three, four or five *āṅgulas* in width and its height one and a half to twice its width. This sort of *kēyūra* is said to be the *pūtra-pūrita kēyūra*. The third class of *kēyūra* is simply a bejewelled broad band with floral and creeper designs and is known as the *śaivala-kēyūra*. According to the *Pādma-saṃhitā* there should be strings and loops of pearls hanging from the *kēyūra*. In the actual sculptures we see that the *kēyūra* is sometimes a spiral with three turns, the topmost end of the spiral terminating in an extended leafy ornament of complicated design, or is shaped in the form of the expanded hood of the cobra. (For illustrations of the *kēyūra* see Figs. 1 to 8 under *kēyūras* on Plate V). In the Tanjore inscriptions this ornament is called the *bāhu-valayam*.

IX & VI. The Kataka-valaya and the Anguli.

The forearm is adorned near the wrist with *kataka-valayas*. These should be worn in pairs or an even number of them on each arm. The *kataka-valaya* is circular in shape and is of the girth of the little finger; or it might be of two or three *yavas* in thickness. Its diameter is to be somewhat greater than that of the wrist. It might be made of gold, the outer surface having ornamental designs and the inner one made polished and smooth; or it might be set with jewels. In the case of gods, one or two *valayas* are seen worn by them; in the case of goddesses, however, a number of them ranging up to eight *valayas* are used. (For *kataka-valayas* see Figs. 16 to 22 on Plate. III).

The *Angulis* and the *anklets* are exactly similar to the *kataka-valayas* in shape but differ only in size and they are often set with precious stones. The thickness of the *anguli* is to be two *yavas*. These are worn in the middle of the fingers (in the middle digit, curiously enough), excepting the middle finger. It is necessary to mention here one or two other kinds of *angulis* found in the Hoysala sculptures; one of these is a circle bent into two at the middle (See Fig. 8 on Pl. IX); another is in the form of a double-loop of three wires, which goes by the name of *pavitra-mōdiram*. (For *angulis* see Figs. 7 to 11 on Plate IX).

XII. Yajnopavita.

The word *yajñōpavita* literally means "wearing in the *upavita* fashion during *yajñas*". In all representations of gods and goddesses we may see the

yajñōpavita running across the chest from left to right. In the figure of Śiva on the Guḍimallam Liṅga, which is probably the earliest known Hindu sculpture, the *yajñōpavita* is not found. The *yajñōpavita* in earlier stages either a piece of cloth tied across the body with the knot resting against the left breast or the skin of the black buck similarly tied. (See figures 1 and 2 on Plate VI and Plate X which is taken from Dr. A. K. Coomarasvami's *Viśvakarma*). In Āryāvarta, a comparatively cold country, people went about with their body fully covered with clothing; but on ceremonial occasions the right hand had to be often used in such acts as pouring water, offering ghee in fire, etc.; for this purpose the upper cloth was removed from the right arm, so as to leave it free for action. Wearing cloth over the body, leaving out the right arm, was known as the *upavita* mode. The newly initiated brahmachārin is even to-day required to wear a bit of the skin of the black-buck in his *yajña-sūtra*, a reminiscence of the older custom of covering themselves in the *upavita* fashion with an entire skin of the black-buck. In the Malabar country the brahmachārin wears even now a band of this skin, about an inch in width round his body along with the *yajña-sūtra*. The *upavita* mode of wearing the cloth or the skin is indeed an old custom and is seen in very early sculptures of the Hindu and Bauddha religions. It dwindles to a cloth of small width knotted at the chest in the sculptures of the Pallava and the early Western Chālukya periods; another peculiarity of the *yajñōpavita* of this period is that it does not pass below the right arm, but on it (See Fig. 5, Plate IX). In the later Pallava period and the earlier Chōḷa period also it continues to be a piece of cloth. But in later Chōḷa period it turns into three strings of cotton knotted together at one point. In fact the earlier *Gṛihya-sūtras* do not mention this later form, namely, the *yajña-sūtra*. In still later periods, another peculiarity is noticed in connection with the *yajña-sūtra*; the three strands of it are of unequal lengths and therefore the loops formed by them are of increasing sizes. The smallest of these runs immediately below the right breast, the intermediate one, above the *kati-sūtra* and the largest just below the *kati-sūtra*. This curious arrangement of the *yajña-sūtra* is actually described in the *āgamas*. *Gṛihya-sūtras* and other earlier authorities distinctly state that the *yajñōpavita* should not descend below the navel, but the later works, the *āgamas* require it to hang three *aṅgulas* below the navel. This apparent contradiction can be explained thus: the earlier authorities took into consideration the upper edge of the cloth or skin used in the *upavita* fashion, with reference to which they stated that it should be above the navel; whereas, the later *āgamic* texts fixed their attention to the lower edge of the same which, they said, must descend three *aṅgulas* below the navel. The idea of spreading the three strands over the whole of the abdominal region and one-half of the chest, is

also perhaps for the purpose of imitating the cloth or the skin which once covered so much space on the body. This seems to be the only possible explanation of this apparent contradiction of authorities.

The *Aṃsumadbhēdāgama* states that the *yajñōpavita* should be eight *yavas* in thickness, and consist of three strings; the *yajñōpavita* descends from the left shoulder, passes across the chest from left to right, below the right arm and returns across the back to the left shoulder. One of the three strands (?) should be on a level with the *uras-sūtra* (an imaginary line drawn across the body at the sternum). Another strand (?) must hang three *āṅgulas* below the navel.

XIII and XIV. Kati-sutra and Uṇḍamas.

The scarf which binds the clothing at the loins is known as the *kati-sūtra*. It consists of three girdles bound together by a buckle, shaped in the fashion of a lion's face which is known as the *kṛitrikāmānam* (or *kṛitrikānānam*). Each of the girdles should be a *yava* in thickness. The *kṛitri-mānam* is either five, six or seven *āṅgulas* in length and breadth and stands out prominently in the middle, a little over the *mēḍhra-mūla*. This is the description of the *katisūtra* according to the *Aṃsumadbhēdāgama*. The *Mānasāra* calls the buckle the *simha-vaktra* (lion-face). It adds that the *kati-sūtra* may be in the form of a *ratna-bandha* or a zone of gold set with precious stones. The *Śilparatna*, however, states that the interspace between each pair of the girdles should be filled with jewel-work. The *Pādma-saṃhita* seems to put down the width of the scarf as three *āṅgulas*.

The *katisūtra* is one of those ornaments on which the goldsmith is seen lavishing his skill in designing. The beauty of this ornament may be seen in the sculptures of all periods. It is also one of the oldest ornaments and is seen worn by the figure of Śiva on the Guḍimallam Liṅga and in the sculptures in caves of Bhājā, Kāṛle, etc. (See figures 1 to 8 on Plate XI).

Ūru-dāmas or festoons of pearls and strings of beads of precious stones are required by the *āgamas* to be hung from the *katisūtra*; these are to descend to about a third of the height of the thigh. The strings of beads are placed between pairs of *mukta-dāmas* (pearl-festoons). In the earlier sculptures the *ūrudāmas* are not generally found; they are rarely met with in the Gupta period, in the early Western Chālukya and the Pallava period; but they begin to be used very freely in the Chōḷa and later periods. In the Chālukya sculptures at Bādāmi we find one pearl-garland and a string of beads on either thigh. In later times we often find five such on the whole, two on each thigh and one in the centre. The centrally hanging cluster of strings of beads of precious stones is often wrought in a very artistic fashion in medieval and

later sculptures. The *katisūtra* seems to be referred to in the Tanjore *sāsanas* by the name *tiruppattigai*. (See figures 4, 5, 6 and 8 on Plate XI).

XV. Pada-Jalaka.

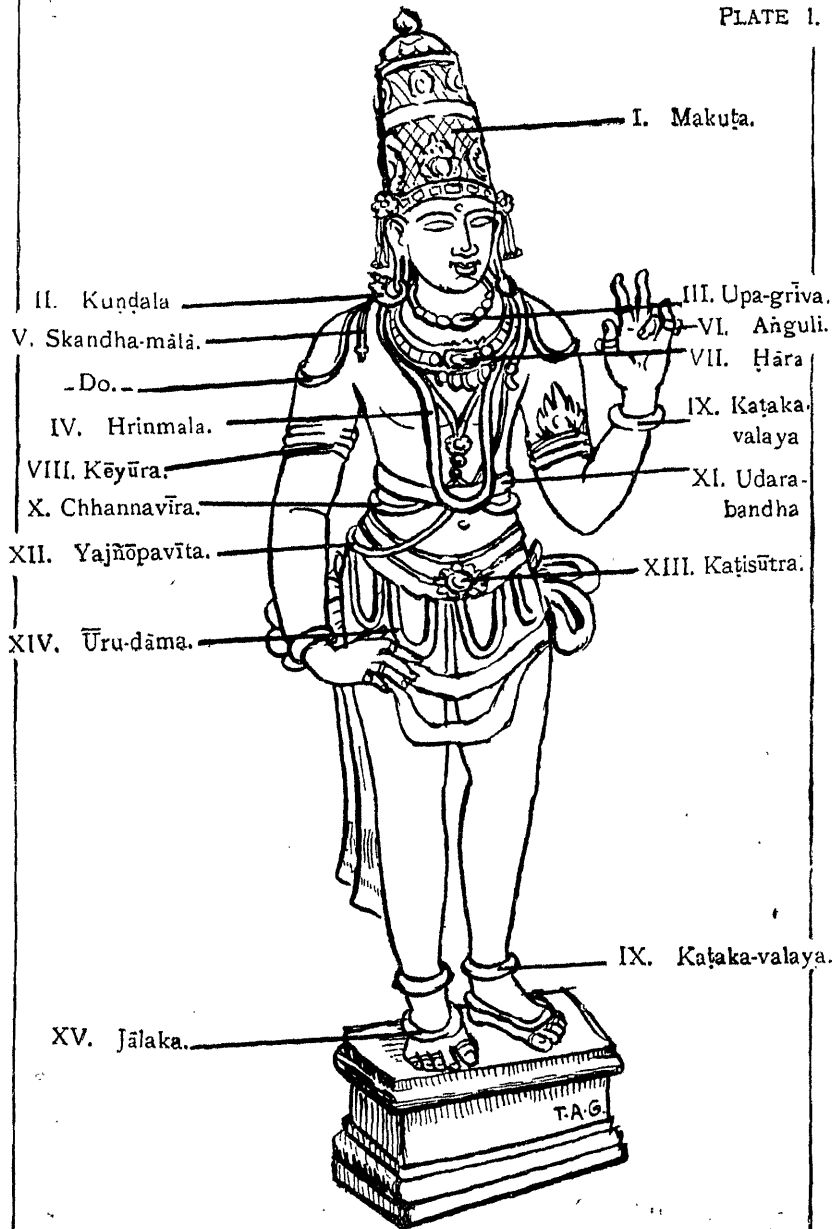
The ankles are adorned with *katahas* similar to those worn on the wrist, but necessarily of somewhat larger size. Below this *kataka-valaya* is worn the *pāda-jālaka*; it generally rests on the feet, below the ankles. It may be made of several pieces strung together in a string: in this case the thickness of the string should be two *yavas* and the length of the small pieces below the string is to be fifteen *yavas*. The small rings attached on the top of these pieces and through which the string passes is to be three *yavas* in height. These small pieces are often little bells which are sounded by the balls of metal or stone put into them. When the foot is moved they all produce a tinkling sound which is useful in keeping time in dancing and music. It may also be of one piece, hollow and shaped in an elliptical form. In the hollow interior are put some stones to produce the tinkling sound. This ornament is called in Tamil *silambu* and in Sanskrit *nūpura*. Because one of the Tamil epics pertained to a *silambu* it was known as the *Śilappadigāram*. The heroine of the epic, Kaṇṇagi, owned a pair of *silambu*, the stones in which were rubies, whereas those of the Pāṇḍya queen, pearls. Though the *silambus* of the heroine and the Pāṇḍya queen looked very similar, the difference between the stones put into them—(stones put in *silambus* were technically known as the *paraḷ*)—enabled them to be distinguished from each other and it is upon this evidence the heroine proved the guiltlessness of her husband who was killed for theft of the queen's *silambu*. From this it is evident that the richer classes did not use ordinary pieces of stones in their *silambus*, but put in precious stones and pearls.

Another mode of making the *pāda-jālaka* is to shape it like the *silambu* but entirely solid; that is, it is simply a bar of metal bent into an elliptical form. If the ornaments for the ankle and the feet are intended for a god they are made of gold and precious stones; but in the case of human wearers of these ornaments they are made of silver. In Malabar, strangely enough, the anklets for children are made of gold. (For *pāda-jālakas*, see figures 1 to 3 on Plate IX.) This ornament is called *pāda-sāyalam* in the Tanjore inscriptions.

[The original authorities in Sanskrit, sent to us by the author after the order of the present issue of the Journal was settled, will be published in the next number—ED.].

HUMAN FIGURE SHOWING THE POSITIONS WHERE ORNAMENTS ARE WORN.

PLATE I.



MAKUṬAS.

PLATE II.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



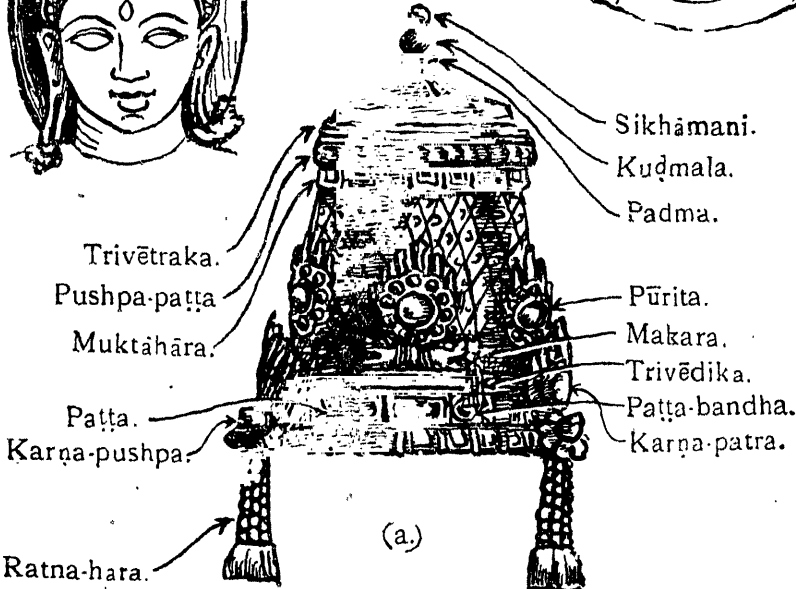
Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



KUNḌALAS.

PLATE III.

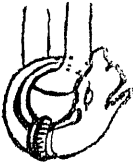


Fig. 1.

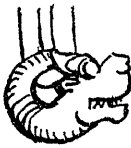


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 7.

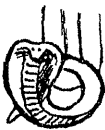


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

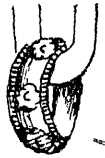


Fig. 12.

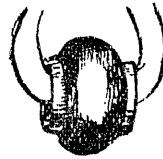


Fig. 13.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.

KATAKA-VALAYAS.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

UPA-GRĪVA & HĀRĀ.

PLATE IV.

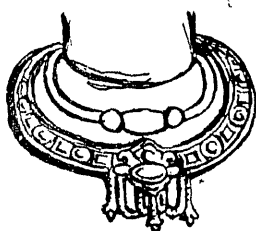


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

HRINMALĀS.

PLATE V.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

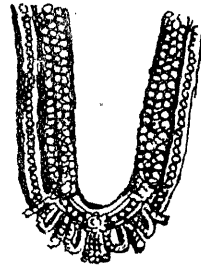


Fig. 6.

KĒYŪRAS.



Fig. 1.

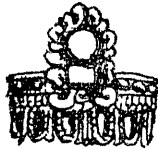


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 8.

YAJÑŌPAVĪTAS

PLATE VI.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

YAJÑŌPAVĪTAS (*contd.*) PLATE VII.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

YAJÑŌPAVĪTAS (contd.) PLATE VIII.
UDARA-BANDHAS &
CHHANNAVĪRAS.



Fig. 1.

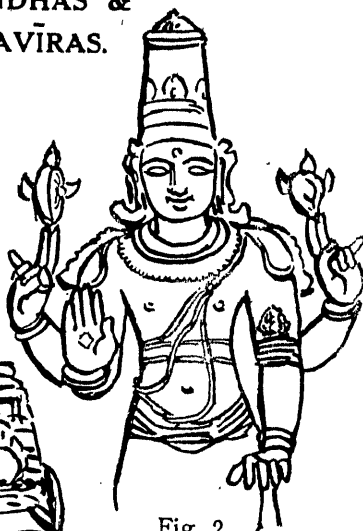


Fig. 2.

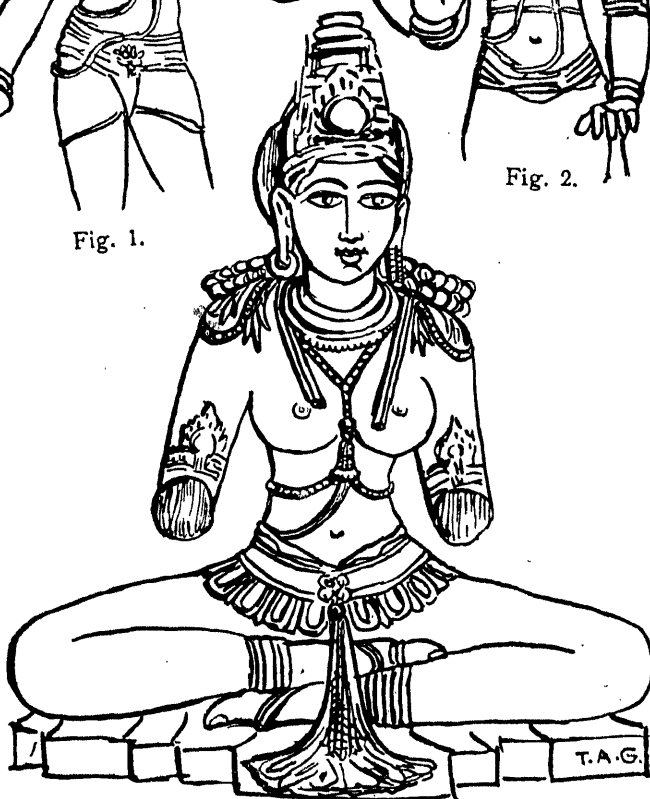


Fig. 3.

T.A.G.

PĀDA-JĀLAKAS.

PLATE IX.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

ANGULIS.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

PLATE X.



KATISŪTRAS & ŪRU-DĀMAS. PLATE XL.

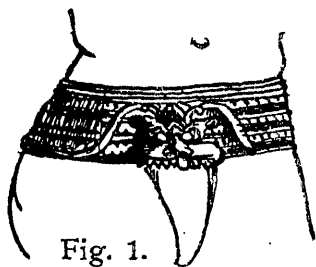


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

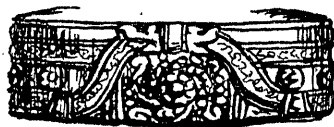


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

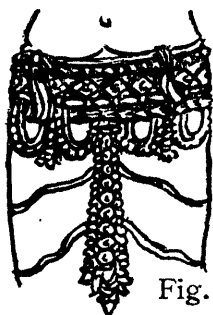


Fig. 5.

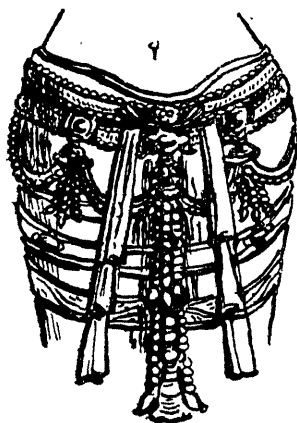


Fig. 6.

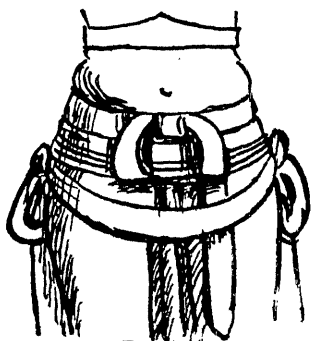


Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.



SOME PRIMITIVE STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE MYSORE PLATEAU.

BY L. A. CAMMIADE, ESQ.

OVER fifty years have passed since the discovery in India of stone implements identical in shape with the most ancient to be found in Europe. As yet hardly any one has taken up their study. This is surprising ; for, there is no other branch of research in this country that is so full of human interest and gives scope for so much romantic pleasure. The well known and alluring pictures of man of the glacial period of Europe holding his own successfully in the face of a most fearsome menagerie, cannot approach that which can be evolved in respect of the conditions which in a topical country like India man must have faced, when with nothing but a few rude stone implements he set about to subdue this country and make it his home. It is a study well worthy of all who have a pride in India.

The neglect of this interesting subject is mainly due to a misapprehension. Research into matters relating to the stone age is supposed to be recondite and beyond the capacity of the ordinary amateur scientist. Such is not the case. The remains of the stone age are so exceedingly plentiful in Southern India that there is hardly a district in Mysore or in the Madras Presidency where stone implements cannot be picked up by the sackful. It is merely a question of getting the clue where to look.

Obviously, the best places to search for implements and other remains of the stone age are the sites where the men of that age had their dwellings or camps. A little imagination and some practice is all that is needed in order to discover these sites. Before attempting to explore a country side an attempt should be made to realize the appearance which that bit of country must have had in bygone days. After a sufficiently clear picture has been found of what the country must have looked like, it remains merely to consider where amid such surroundings a primitive camp could have been located.

The indispensable requisite of such a camp is the presence of a natural and lasting supply of water situated conveniently at hand. The next requisite is that the site should be habitable. In popular imagination these sites were always caves. No doubt, caves and rock-shelters have, when otherwise suitable, been largely used by primitive man. But, cave dwellings are the exception. Even during the glacial period of Europe most of the settlements were in the open. Primitive man, like the modern, much preferred camping in the open, for there he can hold his own against wild beasts more easily than in

the midst of a forest, especially when there are hungry lions or tigers about and he has nothing better than a club or torch and a bellowing voice to defend himself with. It is only when man has to hide from his fellows that the forest becomes his home.

So then, any bit of naturally open ground, such as might be used by modern wandering tribes or by cattle grazers in the proximity of dangerous jungle, is a possible site of a camp of the stone age. In Southern India the stony uplands of laterite were the most favourite camping grounds. In every way they were ideal places of residence for primitive man with good water and good hunting near at hand. Therefore it is that stone implements are mostly to be found along the laterite banks or cliffs bordering the larger streams of Southern India. Next in importance are the broad margins of sandstone that run along the East Coast; for these also, at all periods afforded good open camping grounds well situated near water and game. But, the men of the stone age were not confined to the laterite or the sandstone. They were quite as resourceful as their modern descendants and probably far more adventurous. Consequently, any naturally open bit of ground was to them good enough for a camp; provided always that water was at hand. So that, camps of the stone age are to be found among the smooth pebbles that mark the ancient shore lines of our coasts, as well as amidst the ancient sands and gravels of our streams, big or small, and on all infertile ground whether of red earth or of limestone or of other rock or mineral. Even the barren mud flats along the edges of the salt lagoons that fringe our coasts seem to have been used as settlements by primitive man. And, it is probably merely a question of patient search to find traces of these ancient camps under the sand dunes of our beaches. Moreover, no extensive area of open ground was needed for a camp. A few acres of open ground, even though situated in the midst of the forest, sufficed them just as it suffices our present day jungle tribes. There is but one place where, as a rule, it is hopeless to expect ancient camps; and that is in deep fertile ground where, because of an impenetrable growth of tropical virgin forest, primitive man could not make a settlement. But even there, it happens sometimes, in the flood plain of a river or stream, that there exists below the alluvial bed an ancient ground level forming the site of a camp of the stone age.

With a little perseverance a camp will soon be located and the finds there made will teach more than can be learnt from books on the stone age. It will, among other things, be discovered that in Southern India stone implements of palæolithic type are almost always to be found lying on or near the surface of the ground in batches on sites that suggest themselves as naturally suitable camping grounds, and that outside those sites no implements worth

mention occur. That is to say, the implements appear to have remained almost exactly at the spots where they had been abandoned by their users.

I come now to the more immediate purpose of this article. In spite of the abundance of stone implements in Southern India there is as yet practically no evidence as to when the people lived who used them or what they were like. Consequently, the leading authorities in Europe while recognizing that the Indian implements correspond closely in shape and mode of manufacture to the most ancient stone implements of Europe decline to admit their claim to any high antiquity until some more solid facts than now known have been adduced in support of the claim.

In India some tribes in the Central Provinces appear to have used stone implements up to the middle of the last century. Even to this day the jungle tribes of Southern India have not quite lost the tendency to have recourse to stone implements when better ones are not at hand. Thus, when a rope or twig has to be cut and a knife is not at hand, the thing to be cut is placed on the nearest bit of rock and chopped or hacked in two with any jagged piece of stone. I know of one case where some hill men on the Palnis, on suddenly coming across a sambur that had just been run down by wild dogs, drove the dogs away and promptly cut up and divided the sambur among themselves with chunks which they broke from a boulder of quartz. It is also common for Indian doctors in some parts of Southern India to use sharp flakes of stone for their surgery in preference to lancets. Therefore, the mere occurrence of stone implements in India or their shape or rudeness afford no indication of their age.

In Europe it has been possible to assign to rude stone implements a high antiquity mainly because in the floors of certain caves such implements have been found intermingled with the bones of extinct species of animals or of animals that could have lived in Europe only when the climatic conditions were vastly different from that of to-day; and these bones bear marks that the animals had served as food to the cave dwellers. In Southern India there are but few caves; and, except in Kurnool, they are not of limestone or other mineral likely to preserve bones for any length of time. The Kurnool caves, moreover, have been fairly well explored; while most of the other caves have been turned to religious uses for the past two thousand years or so.

Under these circumstances, there is nothing left, but to search in the open for the possibility of some evidence having survived regarding the age of the implements. Here again, difficulties arise. Geology, in most cases, cannot help in this matter; for, the implements mostly lie on the ground surface and at the very spot where they were last used. Where geology might help, the problem is too complicated to be worked out in figures small enough to suit

the requirements of human history. Then again, in the case of camps in the open, bones and other camp debris perished or were washed away in a short while. There is then but one hope; should one of the camps have been situated within the flood plain of a river or stream, there is always a possibility that the site got covered over by an alluvial deposit very shortly after the camp had been abandoned and that the deposit was accomplished without causing any serious disturbance to the remains of the camp. Such an occurrence is not as extraordinary as it may at first seem. It has happened in well established cases in Europe and I have had reason to believe that it has happened in India also. If now, as often happens in Southern India, the alluvium thus deposited contained calcareous matter, the bones of the buried camp site will in course of time become fossilized and be as effectually preserved as in the floor of any limestone cave. In order then to discover some human or animal remains in conjunction with stone implements, the clue is to examine always most carefully, in areas where there is the least trace of limestone or kunkur, the banks of all streams and water courses, however insignificant, to see whether by erosion or denudation the presence of a buried camp is not disclosed. Of course, at most, only indications of the existence of such a camp can be expected on a surface inspection, and the possibility of laying bare the whole camping ground may not always be practicable. But, in the conditions of the present state of knowledge in Southern India concerning the age of stone implements, a service will have been rendered to research even merely to indicate the location of these camps or supposed camps.

Working on these lines, I recently came across, in the hilly region known as Kollegal that lies on the Southern border of the Mysore plateau, a spot where fossil bones and rude stone implements seem to mark the site of an ancient camp. The things there found were not much. I describe them here more with a view to illustrate what has been said and to stimulate research than from any impression that the finds are in themselves of any consequence.

Between the fourteenth and fifteenth mile on the road leading east from Kollegal town to Ramapuram a large perennial stream has to be crossed just before reaching the forest rest house at Hanur. On the right bank the soil is silty; on the left the ground is high, hard and gravelly and is, by nature, capable of bearing only sparse and scrubby vegetation affording thus a convenient site for a primitive camp. The next point of importance to note is the presence of a large quantity of kunkur both in the banks and in the bed of the stream. On examining the banks of this stream and of a larger one that flows parallel to it half a mile further east, no trace of fossils could be found except within a length of about two hundred or three hundred yards lying immediately

below the spot where the road crosses the stream. Within this length four fossils were found; a complete jaw-bone, a tooth, a shaft bone, and a fragment of another shaft bone. The first seemed to belong to some species of deer; the second was that of a larger herbivorous animal; the origin of the other two bones is uncertain. The bones are all completely fossilized and had to be dug out of the kunkur. The jaw-bone was found on the face of the steep bank of the stream about ten feet above the bed of the stream. The shaft bone lay cemented in the stream bed in a large slab of kunkur which is being worn away with the result that the shaft itself was worn half through. The other bit of shaft bone was, like the jaw-bone, on the face of the cliff, and so was the odd tooth. The tooth was the only fossil found on the right bank. The other three were on the left bank, that is to say, below the high gravelly ground where a camp of the stone age might possibly have been located.

The occurrence of fossils within so limited an area, their situation just in the spots to which the camp refuse would naturally be washed down, and the fact that some of them at least were those of edible animals, all suggest that those were not stray bones washed down by the stream from anywhere but came from the site of the supposed camp. This conjecture is considerably strengthened by the fact that the stream has only a small catchment area, above the point where the bones were found, its source being only some four or five miles higher up. In order to verify this conjecture, a careful search was made for implements on the open ground above the spot where the fossils were found at what seemed the most suitable place for a camp. The search was not easy. The ground near the stream has been eroded to a considerable extent and worn into gullies while the higher ground has been under cultivation for some time. It was, therefore, hopeless to expect an undisturbed camp; nor was it likely that many implements could have remained on it. Another difficulty arose from the presence in the soil of a large quantity of lumps of quartz of about the size of implements. These are not only of the size of implements, but are often so shaped as to cause doubt whether they were chipped by design or accident. It was necessary therefore, to search in the first instance; for indubitable implements; such, for example, as bore clear marks of chipping by man or had been made from stones foreign to the locality.

The first indication that the various conjectures on which the search had been undertaken were well founded was the discovery of a chopper-shaped implement made from a well rolled pebble of quartzite. Well rolled pebbles are exceedingly scarce in the bed of this stream or of any other in the neighbourhood. The presence, therefore, of any well rolled large pebble on the high

ground suggests strongly that it came there through human agency even though it be unchipped. In the present instance not only was the pebble chipped in a way that seemed to indicate clearly man's handiwork, but every other well rolled pebble of hard stone to be found at this place bore similar evidence. Another significant fact is that outside this limited area no useful pebbles, chipped or unchipped, were found. It is true that only half a dozen such pebbles were found. But under all the circumstances of the case, that was about as much as might reasonably have been expected.

Next, a search was made for any implements that might have been made from the local quartz. Though it is probable that a considerable use was made at this camp of implements of quartz, the material is apt to go to pieces after a time under the action of jungle fires. The survival of any in a recognizable condition was therefore doubtful. Nevertheless, two were found so chipped that there can be no doubt that they did not attain their present shape through the accidents of nature.

In shape the implements found correspond, but not too closely, with the typical forms recorded from other ancient camps of the stone age in Southern India. The old chipped stone implements of Southern India have three typical forms. By far the most common type is a flattish pointed oval, chipped out of a solid nodule and provided with a cutting edge all round its margin. Then comes a disc-shaped implement, similarly made and with a similar cutting edge. Lastly, there is a broad wedge or chopper-shaped type rounded at the top as if to give a better grip. In the present instance, the implements found correspond more or less to these types; but seem to be on the whole ruder and more primitive. The most interesting of these was a small oval of quartzite about $2\frac{3}{4}$ " long which differs from other implements of this type in having been chipped apparently from a flake and not from a nodule. It resembles however a nodule-made implement in having the edge trimmed from both upper and lower surfaces. The other remarkable points about this implement are, the rudeness of the chipping, the evidence of great age borne by the discoloration of the chipped surfaces to the same deep red-brown of the original surface, and the rounding of the edges by slow abrasion. The small size of the implement is also a point for notice. The disc type of implement were represented by two specimens; both made from quartz and both, much below normal size, the larger measuring only $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and the smaller $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". These implements have been chipped with greater neatness than the oval, but possibly that is because the material lends itself more easily to chipping. Of the chopper type of implements two were found, both rather small; the larger measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ " across and the smaller $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". The latter was made by breaking an oval shaped pebble across its width and trimming the narrow end. The

other is also made from an oval pebble ; but the pebble is whole and has been very roughly trimmed along the sides, the base and point being untouched. Besides these implements there were a few others of doubtful character and there was a core of quartzite, $4'' \times 5''$, which bears marks of having yielded at least five flakes $1''$ to $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in breadth besides marks of several attempts at flaking.

There yet remains the great question of the age of the implements. Unfortunately in the present instance, the connection of the fossil bones with the implements, is not too certain and it is doubtful whether even an expert palæontologist would be able to supply much information regarding the age of the fossils. Nor does there seem to be any hope of dermining the antiquity of the implements by any other practicable means. In spite of these shortcomings, this note will have amply fulfilled its purpose if it but serves to draw attention to the possibilities open to research in the domain of the stone age of Southern India. A big plum may be in store for the searcher. He may, any day, make a discovery of human remains in conjunction with implements or fossils rivalling or surpassing in interest any that has yet been made in the world regarding the origins of man.

REVIEWS.

"Indian Painting" by Percy Brown, Esq., "Association Press", Calcutta.

OCCIDENTAL critics have often written about the people of India as being singularly indifferent to æsthetic merit and quite incapable of discriminating a good work of art from a bad one. To these critics, the Indian art meant the representation of something unnatural. It was John Ruskin that said that the Indian art "wilfully and resolutely opposes itself to all facts and forms of nature; it will not draw a man but an eight armed monster; it has not drawn a flower but only a spiral or a zigzag." For a time India had to reel under the lash laid across its back; a chill shudder passed through its society, freezing the artistic temperament of the people and it appeared as if the end of all things had to be proclaimed. Reaction however soon set in and in the several attempts made by Indians for self-justification (some of them futile and others imperfectly understood) there was the signal of a new attack. Luckily for India, foreign critics and artists like Mr. Havell and Monsieur Axel Jarl—a Danish artist of repute—whose testimony was naturally more convincing to the world than ours and whose angle of vision was different from our own, recorded their rapturous admiration for the art-treasures of India and cleared the sky of its clouds. Professor Brown has come at a very opportune moment, with his book on 'Indian Painting', to offer his comments in his own way on the erroneous conceptions of his countrymen. It is this which gives his book its peculiar value.

Before reviewing the work we feel it our duty to express our sincere admiration for the Christian missionary workers in India, who are ever on the alert to the various changes in the intellectual and social complexions of this country. Equally do we admire them for their quick adaptability to circumstances and their intellectual suppleness which enable them to be quite at home with any mind or subject and be ready to meet any new situation at the psychological moment. To-day owing to the new spirit of Renaissance evident in India, scholars and young men are falling back upon their art-treasures of the past for inspiration. How quickly this new situation has been met with by our missionary friends is apparent from the organised programme by Dr. Farquhar and The Right Reverend V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, for editing a series of works on the arts and the literature of India, past and present. It is indeed a bold stroke of policy for a group of Christian men whose avowed object is to spread Christianity, to take up to the study of fine arts—a subject apparently unpuritanical in nature and ordinarily beyond the orbit of their legitimate activities. In this new movement, we have to recognise their sincerity of purpose towards a better appreciation of the rich heritage of ancient India, no less than their intellectual alacrity which knows no rest. Intellectual India not only has to feel indebted to their Christian brethren for the eminent services they are rendering but also has to take a lesson from them as to the methods

of propagation to be employed in their attempts towards the educational reconstruction of their country.

Professor Brown needs no introduction. It is also needless to enlarge on the merits which have entitled him to speak on the subject. In his book which is a compilation from larger works on Indian painting, he has carefully and conscientiously recorded a number of valuable facts, collected from various sources, and has by a lucky balance of judgment also rendered himself free from errors. His treatment of the subject has been very fair and unbiassed by any partisan spirit. By the lucidity of his treatment, his judicious selection of materials, and the broad sympathy he has brought to bear on his interpretation of the Indian paintings, the author has entitled himself to the respect and the whole-hearted gratitude of this country.

It seems to us however, that an author the aim of whose work is to arouse in every citizen a keen interest in the fine arts of a country, has to devote greater attention and space to the cultural, the emotional and the imaginative aspects of his subject rather than to the historical, the technical and the intellectual ones. The rather didactic mould in which the earlier part of the book has been cast and the kaleidoscopic quickness with which the different schools appear and disappear do not help the reader to appreciate the glorious arts of India in their full splendour. Starting from the prehistoric and the Vedic records that describe the genesis of the Indian Painting, the learned author reaches the caves of Ajantha, to admire the splendour of their mural paintings. He then departs to Ceylon to just peep at the fresco paintings of Sigiriya. From there he takes a long jump beyond the Indian boundary to Eastern Turkestan, throws therefrom a searchlight on the dark ages of Indian Painting (700 A. D. . . 1600) with the aid of the materials recently collected by Sir Aurel Stein and Le Coq in Khotan, in Central Asia and then passing by the Tibetan Monasteries, arrives at the Court of the "Great Moghul" to witness the marriage of the Rajaput and the Persian arts and the birth of their offspring—the Moghul school of painting—under the scintillating hues of the Orient. Yearning for rural life and domestic joy, he takes leave of the Moghul Emperor on the hunting ground, crosses Rajaputana and reaches the Kangra Valley in the Himalayas, where amidst roadside scenes and snow-clad peaks he may occasionally hear a song sung from a music picture and get a glimpse of a "Ragini". So much the author has achieved with remarkable success. His intellectual flights, the readers will admire and applaud. But something is yet needed from him in the way of an artistic inspiration to his readers before he can finally take them captive.

With due deference to the author's able exposition, we take leave here to observe that the most enchanting and abstruse subject in which the boundary line between the arts of sound and the arts of light and colour disappears and an artist can draw a picture from a tune or sing a song from a picture—we mean the Ragamalas—has been treated with ruthless economy, and that the work would have been complete if the author had made at least a brief reference to the Indian caricature drawings and the paintings of miniatures representing *bandhas* like the *Panchanari Turaga* and *Naranari kunjara* which require great skill and imagination on the part of the artist.

Part II of the work is admirable both in conception and execution. It has brought into focus the differences between the characteristic features and the technical methods of the Rajaput and the Moghul schools. Fostered in the Court of the Moghul, art is "aristocratic and genuinely realistic". "There is no mysticism and rarely pictures of domestic life". Scenes from "hunting and fighting battles and sieges, historical episodes and Durbars" formed its subject matter. Whereas the Rajaput art though similar in technical aspects to the Moghual art is "a people's art, produced naturally by the people for their own pleasure and edification". It is "democratic, mystic and epical." It represented the scenes of country life and the common incidents of the road—as shown in Plate XIV which is one of the finest drawings in the whole book. In the treatment of animal life, the Moghul pictures dealt with "the material aspects of the subject, the hunting of wild beasts, the fighting of rams, deer or elephants;" on the other hand "the Rajaput painter dignified these creatures by giving them the outward form of his dieties and they thus become his animal friends. No other Indian artist could draw these with the feeling that the Rajaput painter gave them". A clearer summary it is hard to make.

We cannot close this review without drawing attention to the two great services that the author has rendered to the cause of Indian Painting by the publication of his book. Firstly, he has disproved the erroneous statements of foreign critics about the unnaturalness of Indian paintings. He has shown how true to life and nature have been the paintings of the several Indian schools whether in the expression of subtle emotions and passions or in the representation of natural scenes or in the portraiture of the human body and its features.

Secondly, he has shown himself a champion fighter for the art of line—an art in which the experience of a whole life time of an artist is shown in one thin, confident line and in which the Indian artists excelled. In support of that art the author writes as follows :—"The art of many countries owes much of its effect to the masterly employment of simple outline. What could be finer than the linear draughtsmanship on Greek vases, or the expressive drawing of Holbein; but no art relies more on this quality than the Buddhist frescos. . . Not only do these frescos represent his (painter's) visualisation of a rounded object translated into line, but his actual treatment of this line is so subtle and experienced that by its varying quality and sympathetic utterance it embodies modelling, values, relief, foreshortening and all the essential elements of the art. It is doubtful whether any artist has equalled the Buddhist painter in his capacity for analysing the complexities of the human form and then rendering in his picture what is essential by means of a simple line."

C. K.

The Astronomical Observations of Jai Singh.

(BY G. R. KAYE, Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XL.)

THE author has managed to produce an excellent book which throws light on the work of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur, who was born in 1686 (the year in which the great Sir Isac Newton completed his Principia). The volume is a well bound production ($13'' \times 10'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$ thick) and contains 68 illustrations. There are fourteen chapters full of interesting matter—scientific and popular.

Besides merely giving historical facts regarding Jai Singh, Mr. Kaye has given full descriptions of the scientific instruments then in use, accompanied by the ancient star catalogue, and illustrated extracts from the Samrat Sidhanta. The astronomical Astrolabe, its use and origin have been clearly described and stated.

Maharaja Jai Singh studied astronomy deeply and we read that he sent out several men to Europe to bring back the latest knowledge then available on the subject. The learned prince built observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares and Mathura. The author has indeed taken great pains in describing the same and reproducing the diagrams illustrating accurately the lay out of these observatories, which are now partly in ruin. He has given some very useful and valuable information regarding the famous city of Ujjain accompanied by a large detailed map. It is earnestly hoped that the map will be of great use to the Pandits at Ujjain, and also to many learned Hindoo gentlemen who would like to see Ujjain once more as the centre of astronomical learning in India. The illustrations are beautifully executed in Sepia tint on thick art paper. Although one may read works on Indian Astronomy, it is not possible to get a proper conception of the types of instruments and observatories used by Indian astronomers and certainly Mr. Kaye's researches supply a want.

It is for this reason that such a book is welcome. In the Appendix, the learned writer has given a mass of valuable data such as, extracts from the Jaipur Star catalogue, astrological tables, geographical elements, meanings of technical terms, symbols, etc.

The work certainly deserves great success and is it too much to hope that it will also be one day translated into the Indian Vernaculars, so that the Hindoo Pandits, who may not happen to have sufficient knowledge of the English language, may also derive benefit from this book?

The "Ararat"

(47A, REDCLIFFE SQUARE, LONDON.)

THIS Journal devoted to Armenia and the Near East, has just entered upon its 6th year of existence. It is the organ of the Armenian United Association of London, and by the wide sanity and tempered patriotism of its articles, has already won for

itself an assured place in the ranks of the great, well-informed periodicals of the West.

The number before us, that for August last, contains among other interesting contributions, a clear sketch of the Strategic Importance of Armenia from the distinguished pen of "A Student of War" whose genius and penetration have won for him a honored place in the *Times* as "Our Correspondent on War." The other article is a short life-sketch of "A Great Armenian," Nubar Pasha, who after having risen by sheer merit from an insignificant position to the highest station a subject could rise in Egypt, viz., that of a Prime Minister, died in 1899, full of honors and distinction, leaving behind him the fame of having modernised and reformed Egypt in co-operation with Lord Cromer. The sketch is drawn with all the vividness and mastery of essentials one associates with the pen of Sir Valentine Chirol.

The Modern Review.

THE number for January maintains its accustomed standard of varied virility. We specially commend to our members the articles on "Where does India stand in Education"; by Prof. P. C. Ray, D. Sc., Ph. D., "A Great Hindu Historian in Persian," by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "Why I Translated Indira and other stories," by J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (retired), and the "Hindu Yoga System" by Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanmann of Harvard University.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. (VOL. IV, PART III, SEPT. 1918), PATNA.

IT is with pleasure and with an envy in which there is not the slightest malice that we confess our recent contemporary of Bihar and Orissa, is bidding fair to become the most wide-awake of research journals in India. Thanks to the steady, nay, enthusiastic support of the Lieut.-Governor and his Councillors, it has been possible for the Society and its Journal to enlist the active sympathies of a distinguished band of scholars whose work in the fields of Anthropology and of exploration of the antique constitutes matter of absorbing interest as published in the successive issues of the Journal. The number before us has among others an article by W. Crooke, B. A., I. C. S. (retired), on the Head-dress of Banjara Women. In our own Province, we have the kindred of these Banjaras known to us, under the name of Lambanis. In the midst of a civilisation which like a Steam Roller is smothering all things to a dead level, it is positively refreshing to find that picturesque people like these still manage to survive with their peculiarities yet unimpaired. Mr. Crooke while commenting upon the peculiar head-dress worn by Banjara women finds analogies to it in the Himalaya and adjoining regions to the north of this range, and surmises therefrom that these people must have descended from a tribe that followed the Epthalites or White Huns, multitudes of whom entered Persia and India during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. The closest parallel to the

Banjara head-dress in Asia, outside the Indian area, is that of the Druse women of Syria, where also this peculiar form of head-dress denotes a married woman distinguished from an unmarried one. "The Rock-Paintings of Singanpur" described by Mr. C. W. Anderson accompanied by a number of fine plates, is very interesting reading. Messrs. Sarat Chandra Ray and B. Sukhumar Haldor are responsible for curious side lights thrown on the religion, manners and customs of two of the jungle tribes, the Ho's and the Bihors. Mr. H. Panday's critique of Mr. Panna Lall's contribution to a past number of the *Hindustan Review* on the dates of Skanda Gupta and his successors, helps us to unravel more correctly the Gupta references in the famous Mandasore Inscription.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(VOL. XXXV, No. 1.)

THIS sumptuous number issued as a single one for the year 1918, makes up for its isolated appearance by a wealth of articles from the pen of well-known savants like Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Ph. D., LL.D., K.C.I.E., J. A. Saldhana, B. A., LL. B., and Rev. R. Zimmermann, S. J., Ph. D., etc. Dr. Jivanji alone is responsible for four varied contributions, such as, "The Moghul Emperors at Kashmir," "The Story of the King and the Gardener," "An Instance of Royal Swayamvara as described in the Shah Nameh of Firdausi," and "Archery in Ancient Persia—A Few Extraordinary Feats." Mr. J. A. Saldhana puts in two articles, one being on "Philology and Ethnology and Their Bearing on Customary Law" and the other, "The Survival of Portuguese Institutions in British Western India." Rev. Zimmermann's estimate of Kant and Sankara is so masterly and penetrating, we wish space had permitted us to quote specimens of his eloquent analysis. Towards the close occurs this passage: "Sankara puts clearly his thesis with a consistency and subtlety that recall the times of Aristotle and Scholasticism. He follows up the consequences to the last corner. There is nothing in heaven and hell and between them to which he is not able to apply his doctrine. As far as the nature of his work, the arrangement of which was given by the sutras, allows, he is methodical in dividing the matter. . . . The great leading thoughts run now open, now hidden but always perceptible through his theology, psychology and cosmology. Nothing is suffered to stand in his way; Sruti texts he handles with a dexterity that makes his success sure. Sankara is a terrible dialectician; the adversary is so cornered, caught, collared and jostled about that all his Prānas get mixed up, if they do not prefer for very shame to leave such a worsted opponent altogether. . . . Sankara brought the Vedānta as it was fashioned by him from the school into the nation and its life; and his Vedānta was able to stand the wear and tear of the centuries. . . . This then may be said to be the historical

"position of Sankara and Kant. Sankara stands at the end of an organic evolution, his doctrine is the height of Indian Pantheism; Kant in his specific teaching has broken with the past, he stands for Criticism."

A single passage from the great scholar Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's "The Aryans in the Land of the Asuras" is enough to indicate the line on which he wishes us to travel in settling the long-pending problem of the Devas and the Asuras. Says he,— "If my derivation of the word Asura from the name of the inhabitants of Assyria is correct, the Aryans must have lived in their neighbourhood for a very long period since the whole literature from the latest portion of the Samhitas and the subsequent literature is full of Asuras, and incidents connected with them, showing that they had made a strong, indelible impression on the mind of the Aryans."

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

(JULY AND OCTOBER 1918.)

THE contributions in this double number which will appeal to philologists and antiquarians are, "The Babylonian Conception of the Logos" by S. Langdon, "The Chronology and Genealogy of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir," by Lieut.-Col. T. W. Haig, C. M. G., and "The Prakrit Vibhāsās" by Sir George A. Grierson. Among the Miscellanea of this interesting number, the most important to us are a few telling paras on the recently edited Kharavela Inscription, by the veteran Vincent A. Smith, who assures us that this correct editing of the Kharavela text by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, entails far-reaching consequences as thereby the dates of Buddha's and of Mahavira's demise are accurately ascertained, not excepting the equally accurate fixture of Nanda genealogy.

Considerations of space prevent us from noticing, however briefly, the very instructive contributions of our other contemporaries, who kindly exchange their periodicals with us.

OBITUARY.

It gives members of the Managing Committee of the Mythic Society great pain to have to record the death of Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, retired Senior Surgeon and Sanitary Commissioner of the State. Enfeebled as he already was by protracted illness, he fell almost an unresisting victim to the scourge of influenza which invaded the Province in its fiercest aspect during October last. The President referred to the sad demise of his most genial friend and fellow worker in the course of the November meeting, and the Committee also, of which the late Dr. Rao was an ornament, have placed on record a resolution worded as follows :—

“Resolved that the Committee do place on record their sense of loss due to the sad death of Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, who was an enthusiastic member of the Society and the Committee almost from the Commencement.”

1

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KALIDASA AND SHAKESPEARE

BY RAO BAHADUR K. KRISHNA IYENGAR, ESQ., B.A., L.C.F.

I HAVE been asked to compare and contrast two of the world's greatest poets in a quarter of an hour. This reminds of a Sanskrit stanza,—

भारतं चक्षुदंढं । समुद्रमपि वर्णय ॥ पादमेकं प्रदास्यामि । प्रतिपर्वरसोदयं ॥

In this a king proposed to a poet to describe the Mahabharata, a sugar-cane stick and the sea in one fourth of a couplet or eight words. That gifted poet characterised all the three by saying प्रतिपर्व रसोदयं ॥ The beauty and excellence of the Mahabharata go on intensifying from chapter to chapter. The sweetness of the sugarcane increases from joint to joint and with every return of the full moon the sea begins to ebb. The stanza may be altered to suit my predicament as follows:—

महात्मानं कालिदासं । पक्ष्मपारं च वर्णय । होरामेकां प्रदास्यामि । प्रतिपल्लवसोदयं ॥

In every page of both there is honey and sweetness. This in short is what I mean to demonstrate to you, however imperfectly, in the time at my disposal.

I shall commence my business without any more preface. Kalidasa and Shakespeare are acknowledged as the greatest poets of their respective countries. An oft-quoted Sanskrit stanza assigns to Kalidasa his place among the poets of India.

पुष्पपु जार्जा पुरुषपु विष्णुः । नारीपुरम्भा नगरीपुकांची ।

नदापुगंगा नृपराजभद्रः । काव्यपुमेधः कविकाळिदासः ॥

By attempting an Indian quibble it may be made to fix Shakespeare's place among the poets of England.

पुष्पेषु रोज्ञा पुरुषेषु जीसस् । नारीषुमेरि नगराषु लण्डन् ।

नदीपुतेम्मस् नृपतीष्वल्लफ्रेड् । कान्येषु डैटल् कविषेकबीरः ॥

I. Their Life.

As in the case of the world's greatest men we know very little of these two poets beyond half truths, guesses, anecdotes and legends. Shakespeare was the son of a farmer in Warwickshire in England. Kalidasa is reputed to have been the issue of an illicit love between an Aryan Saint and a Naga damsel in the *Sindhu* country on the borders of Bundelkhand and Rajaputana.

The early education of both was defective. Shakespeare learned little Latin and less Greek in his grammar school and Kalidasa was the greatest dunce, he having been brought up as a foundling by a cow-herd whose cattle he was employed to tend in his boyhood. Both are splendid examples of what self-culture can achieve by intercourse with the world coupled with genius and application. A perusal of their works is the best antidote for the parochial pride of all our university wits.

Both were truants and got into scrapes in their youth. They were frank and genial and indulged in quibbles, conceits, and coarseness and had none of the squeamishness of modern refined society which wants expurgated editions of Shakespeare.

II. Formative Influences.

The enchanting scenery of Warwickshire, its hills and woods, the flowery lanes, the upland pastures permeated the mind of Shakespeare. Similarly, the romantic scenery of Bundelkhand, Malwa, Rajaputana, the banks of the Sipra, and the scenery of the Vindhya mountains made Kalidasa a lover of nature. The historical and legendary associations of *Mallasthan* and *Rajasthan* must have appealed to his imagination. Both mixed with all sorts and conditions of men. They were the most natural of men, therefore they became great. They had no condescension and conceit. Both had the companionship of the most learned men and wits of their day. Their commerce with the varied life in the capital of their country expanded their mind: Both possessed their innate and God-given genius, sparkling with lively imagination, nimble fancy, unsurpassed power of expression. Both lived in troublous and stirring times: Shakespeare, during the wars of the Spanish and French coalition against England, during the time of Elizabeth, a period of maritime discoveries, expansion of commerce, freedom of thought and action and romantic travels and of patriotism; Kalidasa during the period of the devastating incursions of the Huns and Scythians, during the Gupta period. Their times were also times of great conflict between religions

in the land. Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in England and Buddhism and Brahmanism in India.

III. Their Mind and Art.

Both had wonderful command over words and music, rhythm, and cadence. Their range of thought was varied and immense. Their imagination and fancy invested their utterances with beauty, emphasis, interest and illumination, unsurpassed by others. They exhibit marvellous genius in identifying themselves with all situations and in painting their characters with insight and sympathy. Shakespeare especially is a consummate master in character-drawing, not by specific descriptions of his own, but by suitable words put into the mouths of his men and women. Its evolution from gentle hints at the commencement to the most consistent and consummate perfection in the end is admitted. Both are most faithful delineators of the dominant passions and motives of men and women.

To me, it seems that we must admit that Shakespeare is on the summit of thought and passion while Kalidasa, though exhibiting fine qualities as a poet is deficient in range and variety and is at the foot of the hill. This was so because he was bound by the trammels of orthodox and sometimes pedantic rules of the Sanskrit drama. Shakespeare has created universal types of men and women, while Kalidasa's characters and treatment must be acknowledged as local. Shakespeare is a समष्टि poet or of synthetic mind, Kalidasa was a व्यष्टि or of particular or local type in the details of characterization. But both not only amuse us, not only instruct us, but also inspire us with the noblest hopes and aspirations.

IV. Life Ideals.

As in the case of most of us, their youth was gay and frolicsome. It was the time for whistling, singing and making merry. In their manhood, both welcomed the beauteous world and enjoyed its good things to their hearts' content and believed in the wisdom of the adage "Eat, drink and be merry." Their motto was

" Let me the canakin clink, clink
For the soldier's life is but a dream "

Romance of life filled their mind. The spring was in their blood.

In their maturity, they came into contact with real life. The hard realities of the world, and its discord produced a disillusionment. They understood that man is a bundle of many humours and the world many-sided. Apparent discord, want of divine justice, brought on depression and doubt, and led them to become almost misanthropic. In old age, they came to realise

that calm could only come by patience, self-control, forgiveness, reconciliation, peace on earth and good-will to mankind. They then realised the supreme significance of the cry of the ancient Rishis at the end of all inevitable turmoil, trouble and action, viz : शान्तिश्शान्तिश्शान्तिः. Hectic fear of ambition, conflict of wills, high spirit, persistent pursuit of revenge are hushed. Their mental pendulum had oscillated between two extremes and at last found its equilibrium in life's secret, viz : " while taking our part in it we must be disengaged from it," which is also the supreme lesson of the Bhagavadgita, मार्कमंफलेहेतुर्गुः । वारसंगोस्त कर्मणि ॥ Life's joys, griefs, errors and frailties we must view with tenderness and pity like that prince of compassion, Siddhartha Buddah or the Enlightened One. With fortitude and serenity, " we must look on the delight in youth and the loveliness of youthful joy as one not possessing or any longer desiring to possess them."

V. Their religion and philosophy.

Man does not strive with circumstance and with his own passions in darkness : Gods preside over our human lives and fortunes. They communicate with us by vision, by oracles, through the elemental power of nature. There are two real factors, virtue and vice, which carry on an eternal warfare in this world and virtue at last triumphs, if not in this world at least in the next. " The doer of the deed must suffer " is the inexorable law of Nemesis or Karma. There is something without and around our human lives of which we know little, yet which we know to be beneficent and divine. "There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." Nature is but the vesture or garment of the Creator.

All of us undergo the same or similar metamorphosis in our lives. From the conceits, prettiness as well as pettiness and affectation of youth, we ascend to the sphere of turmoil and trouble and action, then plunge into the darkness and tragic mystery of error, crime, ambition, envy, jealousy, hatred, revenge, to which we often succumb but sometimes contending with, are crowned with the olive of success. After this most meagre summary of the common characteristics and differences of the two poets, I shall illustrate a few of these points by extracts from their writings.

Examples of intense impression and suitable expression :—

Kalidasa's Description of the flying Hare.

नचनपरिचितः न चाप्यरम्यः । चकितमुपैमितथापिपाश्वरमस्य ॥
सलिलनिधिरिवप्रतिक्षणं सु । भवतिसध्वनवोनवोयमक्षणोः ॥

Shakespeare on Henry V. inciting the British soldiers to imitate the tiger's action in their onslaught.

" But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
 Then imitate the action of the tiger ;
 Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
 Disguise fair nature with hard favour'd rage ;
 Then lend the eye a terrible aspect ;
 Let it fly through the portage of the head,
 Like the brass cannon ; let the brow o'erwhelm it,
 As fearfully as does a galled rock,
 O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
 Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean ;
 Now set the teeth, and stretch the nostril wide ;
 Hold hard the breath and bend up every spirit
 To this full height ! on, on, you noble English ! "

These passages indicate minute observation, detailed registry in the brain and suitable expression or representation in rhythmic words which express both the meaning and also the exact mood with its proper note and emphasis. I may go on multiplying instances, but I have no time.

As regards examples of lively *imagination* and fine *fancy* which help pleasing and amusing expression and give rise to unexpected comparisons, illustrations and metaphors, they seem to gush out and well up as from an artesian spring from the brains of these two poets. They can be quoted by thousands. One of each will suffice.

Imagination. (Shakespeare)

" I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
 Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
 Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
 Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
 And each particular hair to stand on end,
 Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.

Imagination. (Kalidasa)

व्यसनिन इव विद्याक्षायते पंकजश्रः सुचिर्यविविदेशेऽन्यमायान्तिभंगाः ।
 कुनृपतिरिवलोकं पीडयत्यन्धकारं धवमिवकृष्णस्यव्यर्थतामेति चक्षुः ॥

Fancy. (Shakespeare.)

" The current, that with gentle murmur glides,
 Thou know'st, being stopp'd, impatiently doth rage :
 But, when his fair course is not hindered
 He makes sweet music with th' enamel'd stones,
 Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
 He overtaketh in his pilgrimage :
 And so by many winding nooks he strays,
 With willing sport to the wild ocean.

Fancy—(Kalidasa.)

अविभूतेशशिनितमसारिच्यमानेवरात्रिः । नैशस्याचिहुतमुज्ज्वच्छन्नभूयिष्ठधाय ।
माहेनान्तर्वरतनुरियं लक्ष्यतेमुच्यमाना । गंगारोधः पतनकलुषागच्चतीवप्रसादः ॥
विक्रमोर्विशीय ।

I am aware that some of the fancies of the Oriental mind will be characterised as fantasies by the Europeans.

As regards their genius and ability to evolve lessons for our inspiration passages by hundreds can be quoted from both, bearing on the various vicissitudes of human life, but I have time for only one.

Dilapa's adoption of the Golden Mean—Kalidasa.

न खरोनचभूयसामृदुः पवनमानः पृथवीरुडानि ।
स पुरस्कृत मध्यमक्रमो नमयामासंपून् ॥

Shakespeare's advice to an angry wife.

“ A woman moved is like a fountain troubled,
Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty ;
And while it is so, none so dry or thirsty
Will deign to sip, or touch one drop of it :
Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,
Thy head, thy sovereign : one that cares for thee
And for thy maintenance : commits his body
To painful labour, both by sea and land ;
To watch the night in storms, the day in cold,
While thou liest warm at home, secure and safe ;
And craves no other tribute at thy hands
But love, fair looks, and true obedience
Too little for so great a debt.”

Most of us have enjoyed the music, the rhythm, the cadence and the pathos of Shakespeare's magnificent monologues in his world-famed tragedies of Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear and Othello, but to give one a taste of the mellifluous march of words resembling the measured and majestic steps of the modest maiden, I would refer my readers to two stanzas from Kalidasa's Syamala Dandaka and Meghaduta, the first one in praise of Kali after she inspired him and while he was still in trance and the other purposely written by him in the *Mandakranta Vritta* or the *slow marching metre* fitted to carry the saddest but sweetest message of a disconsolate husband to his beloved wife.

Any man who reads the works of these poets will be convinced that both Kalidasa and Shakespeare “seem to feel all feelings, think all thoughts and recognise that all such thoughts have a right to be considered and understood

by us." "On this account both are poets of eternity. myriad minded men and miracles of intellectual genius who have tried to hold the mirror to nature." Their apotheosis has endured during all the past centuries and their immortality is assured. Following Dr. Long we may say "to study nature in their works is like exploring a new and beautiful country: to study man in their works is like a masquerade in which past and present mingle freely and familiarly as if the dead were all living again. And the marvellous thing in this masquerade of all sorts and conditions of men is that they lift the veil from every face, let us see the man as he is in his own soul and show us in each one some germ of good, some soul of goodness."

Gray's most beautiful description of Shakespeare applies to both and with this quotation which sums up most comprehensively the supreme excellence of two of the greatest poets of the world, I shall close my paper.

"This pencil take (the mother said) whose colours richly paint the vernal year.

Thine too these golden keys. immortal boy.

This can unlock the gates of joy, of horror that. and thrilling fear
Or Hope the sacred source of sympathetic tears."

This is nothing more nor less than the true delineation of the dominant passions of mankind called by the Sanskritists in their अलंकारशास्त्र or science of literature प्रधानरसा which are nine in number but which have been compressed by Gray into four words. Joy arising from a true description of the beautiful शृंगार, the heroic वर, the sublime अद्भुत, the ludicrous हास्य, the tranquil शान्ति, horror भयानक, thrilling fear संभ्रम, frenzy रौद्र, sympathetic tears करुणा. It is because our poets under comparison have attempted the true representations of these dominant passions in a direct, simple, forceful, interesting, and inspiring fashion, that they are classics and poets for all time, and of all countries. Whenever any one approaches the works of these masters, a sense of reverence and awe creeps over him in the presence of the majesty and magnificence of these mighty minds and he feels as did the courtier गुणदास in the presence of King Agnimitra as so beautifully described by Kalidasa in his *Malavikagni Mitra*.

नचनपरिचितः नचाप्यरम्यः चकितमुपमितथापिपाद्वमस्य ।

मल्लिनधिखिवप्रतिक्षणमिभवतिसविव नवोनवोयमक्ष्णोः ॥

In short, Kalidasa and Shakespeare are ever fresh and ever grand fountains of joy, instruction and inspiration.

SOME NOTES ON BRAHMANIC TEMPLES AND TEMPLE-WORSHIP IN SALEM DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M. A., I. C. S., M. R. A. S.

(1) Plan and Arrangement.

A Siva temple of correct pattern should have seven *prākārams* or ambulatories, one within the other; but this arrangement is not found in any temple in Salem District. The temple precincts are usually enclosed by a wall, the gateways in which are marked by pyramidical towers, (*gōpuram*) of oblong plan, not unlike the pylons of an ancient Egyptian temple.

In the centre of this enclosure is the main building, consisting of three parts, which correspond respectively to the 5th, 6th, and 7th *prākārams* of an ideal temple, viz. :—

1. the *maha-mantapam*.
2. the *ardha-mantapam*.
3. the *garba-griham*.

The *garba-griham* or Holy of Holies, is a perfect cube, and in it is located the god, in the form of a *lingam*.* The water used in the god's ablution (*abhishekam*) runs into a small drain, which terminates outside the shrine on the north in an ornamental stone spout (*gomukham* or *sōmasūtram*). The ablution is very sacred, and is drunk by the worshippers. The *garba-griham* is usually surmounted by a superstructure (*vimāna*), which in turn is usually crowned with a brass ornament (*kalasam*), sometimes plated with gold.

The *garba-griham* opens, usually on its eastern side,† into the *ardha-mantapam*, a small ante-room, narrower than the *garba-griham* itself, and connecting it in turn with the *mahā-mantapam*, a pillared hall or portico where the best ornamental work of the temple is concentrated.

On the northern side of the *mahā-mantapam* is a shrine of Natarāja, Natēsan or Chitambarēswara, the God Siva in the form of a dancer. None but the *archakar* (priest) of the temple is allowed to enter the *garba-griham*, and only Brahmans versed in the Vedas may enter the *ardha-mantapam*. The right of entree into the *mahā-mantapam* should be, strictly speaking, reserved for Brahmans, but in Salem District most of the higher castes are admitted to it.

*The *mūla-vigraha*, as the aniconic representation of the deity is called, in contrast to the iconic (anthropomorphic) *utsava-vigraha* used for processional purposes.

† In some temples, e.g., the Kailāsanātha temples of Tāra-mangalam and Rāsipuram, the *garba-griham* faces west.

The *garba-griham* is sometimes surrounded with a closed ambulatory, but this is very rare.

South of the *ardha-mantapam* is usually a niche, containing a figure of Dakshanamūrti, the representative of Siva receiving instruction from his son Subrahmanya in the meaning of the monosyllable "Om". North of the *ardha-mantapam* is sometimes a similar niche for a figure of Dūrga.

Adjoining the *mahā-mantapam* is usually the "*utsava-sālai*" or room where the metal images ("*utsava viṅraha*") used for processional purposes are stored. The Temple Treasury, the Monegar's Office and other chambers are sometimes attached. The *mahā-mantapam* often contains a stone table or raised platform, on which the flower garlands used in worship are prepared. The entrance of the *ardha-mantapam*, and sometimes that of the *mahā-mantapam* are protected on each side with figures of Demon Door-keepers (*Dwāra-Pālakas*). In larger temples, a sacred well, connected with the inner sanctuary by an underground passage, is usually to be found.

The space between the central block of buildings and the compound wall is occupied with shrines, mantapams, etc., which are associated with the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th *prākarams* of an ideal temple. In front of the *maha-mantapam* a little to the north, is a group of nine figures representing the nine planets (Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Ketu and Rahu). Close to this is the god's sleeping chamber. North of the *ardha-mantapam* and facing north, is usually a shrine of Chandikesvara, Siva's secretary in the form of a deaf old man, who, like the recording angel, is supposed to make notes on the people who come to worship at the main shrine, and no worshipper should quit the temple without first making obeisance to this important functionary with a request that his piety may be duly recorded. The shrines of the Nine Planets and Chandikesvara represent the 4th prakaram, which sometimes forms an additional *mantapam* called the *mahā-mantapam*.

South-west of the main shrine should be a temple of Vignesvara, and north-west of the main shrine another to Subrahmanya both facing east. Pārvati's temple is usually in the north-east of the temple precincts, and faces south. The position of these three shrines, however, varies in different temples.

In front of the *maha-mantapam*, in order from west to east, are,

(1) *Nandi* (bull, Siva's *vāhanam* or "vehicle"), facing the *garba-griham* and often surmounted with bells.

(2) a *dvaja-stambam* or flag-post, a tall mast, sometimes of wood, sometime of copper, with a flag-shaped device on the top, sometimes decorated with bells,

(3) a *bali-pitam*, or altar of sacrifice, a pedestal topped by a stone in the

form of a lotus, the eight petals of which are supposed to represent the guardians of the Eight Cardinal Points (*Ashtadikku-Palakkas*). On this *bali-pitam* offerings of flowers and fruits are laid by worshippers.

The space between the *maha-mantapam* and the entrance *gopuram* is occasionally roofed over with a pillared hall, and this is the proper location for the "thousand pillared mantapam" of the greater Dravidian Temples.

In the north-west corner of the temple compound is the *yāga-sālai*, or place of sacrifice, where the *hōmam* (burnt offering) of the nine grains, is performed, and in the south-west angle is a kitchen where the Brahman priests prepare the sacrificial meals.

In a colonnade against the eastern wall of the temple compound are five cells containing five *lingams* (*pancha-linga*). There are usually a number of additional *lingams* elsewhere within the precincts, dedicated by individual devotees in pursuance of some vow or to acquire merit.

In a few of the larger temples there are sometimes to be found a shrine of the seven maids (*Sapta-Kannimār*), companions of Pārvati, and a shrine of the Four Apostles of Siva (*Nālvār-Kōvil*), authors of the *Devāram* (or sacred hymnal of Siva and the *Tiruvāsaka*).

On the south side of the compound is the *vahana-mantapam* or chamber where the *vāhanas* ("vehicles" on which the god is borne in procession) are stored. On this side in the larger temples is also a colonnade containing figures of some or all of the 63 Saints (*Arupattu-mūvār*) "who were taken visibly into bliss by Isvara, wherefore they are now adored with him in his pagodas."† Among the other buildings scattered about the compound may be found a *kalyāna-mantapam* (marriage portico), a platform of *Nāga*-stones,‡ a shrine to Bhairava (a dog-headed form of Siva), a group of sacred *bilva* trees (*Aegle marmelos*), and, not infrequently, a small shrine to Vishnu or Hanuman.

The top of the containing wall of a Siva Temple is usually decorated with *Nandis*. The main entrance, opposite the *maha-mantapam*, is marked by a tall *gōpuram* of several stories, surmounted with a row of *Kalasams*, similar

† Vide Ziegenbalg, p. 32. The *Tiruvāsaka* (or Holy word) written by Manikkavāsakar, contains dialogues between Siva and a devotee of his, in which the latter confesses his nothingness and misery and contrasts it with Siva's glory. The *Devaram* is a "collection of songs made by the three renowned champions of Saivism against Buddhism. Appar, Sundarar, Sambanthar. This work, together with the *Tiruvāsaka* is called the Tamil Veda and considered divine.

‡ Ziegenbalg, p. 48.

Slabs carved in low relief with snake-like figures, usually of three types.—

1. a single multi-headed cobra.
2. a semi-human figure, the head of which is surmounted by a five or seven headed cobra hood, the body terminating in a snake-like tail, and
3. two cobras intertwined (*in-coitu*) in a sort of "figure-of-eight."

in design to that over the central *Vimana*. The entrance is occasionally adorned with a pillared portico. Not unfrequently there is a subsidiary entrance on the south wall, marked by a lesser *gōpuram* and portico. In an ideal temple there should be entrance *gōpurams* on all four sides, but this arrangement is not to be found in any of the temples in the District. Opposite the main entrance is some times a pillar (*tirukōdi* or *dīpa-stambam*), surmounted with a brazier in which a fire is kindled on festival occasions, and beyond this there is, in some cases, a square tank or well. Occasionally there is also a raised platform surmounted by a *mantapam* where the god is allowed to rest on returning from his circuit, and a *kaliyāna-mantapam*.

A typical Vishnu Temple resembles a Siva Temple in the general arrangement of its central buildings into *garba-griham*, *ardha-mantapam*, and *maha-mantapam* all facing east.

In lieu of a *Nandi*, there is usually a small *Garuda-mantapam*, containing a figure of Garuda, the Sacred Kite, on which Vishnu is borne, in human shape. Sometimes, instead of a *Garuda-mantapam*, there is a *Garuda-kambam*, a stone pillar, the base of which is carved with Garuda on the western side, facing the main shrine: the *Chanku* on the north; the *Chakra* on the south; and *Hanuman* on the east. Sometimes, as in the Soundararaja Temple in Salem Fort, there is a colossal figure of Hanuman, standing in an attitude of worship, facing the shrine.

There may or may not be a *dvaja-stambam* (flag-staff); sometimes there is a separate *dīpa-stambam*, or lamp pillar, outside the main entrance, with a brazier top, in which on festival occasions, a light is kept burning; sometimes the *Garuda-kambam* serves as a *dīpa-stambam* also.

The Amman shrine is usually south of the main shrine, and it also faces east.

In the north wall of the compound is a small gate, *Swarga-vāsai* or *Gate of Heaven* which is open only for ten days in the year at about the time of *Vaikunta Ekādasi*, and through which devotees quit the temple after performing their devotions, thereby symbolically passing through the gates of *Vaikunta* (felicity) as did Nammālvār, the Vaishnavite Sage. The sculptures on the *mantapams* and walls illustrate stories from the *Ramāyana* or *Mahābhārata*, the legends of Krishna, the avatārs of Vishnu, and other topics characteristic of Vaishnavism. The compound walls and the roofs of the buildings are decorated usually with *Singams* (lions) in lieu of *Nandis*, and sometimes with Garuda in human form.

The *brindāvanam*, or masonry pedestal, in which the sacred *tulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) is planted is a characteristic feature of Vishnu temple, as it is of Vaishnavite households.

II.—RITUAL.

In Saivaite Temples *pūja* is usually performed twice or thrice a day. The principal ceremonies are three. The *archakar*, after bathing and marking himself with the sacred symbol of the sect, approaches the idols, removes the cloths, if any in which they are clad, and bathes them with holy water. He then performs,

(1) *abhishēka*, pouring over the idols a mixture of lime-juice, cane-juice, cocoanut water, honey, oil, sandledust, etc., uttering *mantras*.

(2) *dūpa* follows, the priest lighting several lamps, and walking round the idol with a censer, ringing a bell the while, after which he throws flowers on the image, one by one. The third ceremony is,

(3) *naivēdyā*, or the food offering, butter, milk, boiled rice, cakes, fruit, vegetables, etc., being placed before the idol and dedicated with *mantras* and the recitation of the deity's names and titles. The food thus consecrated is called *prasāda* and in Saivite temples is eaten by the *archakar* and his assistants.

The ritual of a Vishnu temple is not unlike that of a Siva temple, but the sacramental food (*prasāda*) may be partaken of; not only by the temple staff, but also by pious worshippers, and its sale is sometimes a lucrative source of income to the temple funds*.

The *homam* sacrifice is performed in the *yāga-sālāi*, or chamber of sacrifice above referred to, and its symbolism seems to indicate that the present rite is a refinement of the ancient ritual of blood sacrifice*. In the *yāga-sālāi* is a pit (Homa-gundam) about 4 feet square. In this, on the first day of the festival, a fire is kindled and fed with the twigs of nine sacred trees,

- (1) *Calotropis gigantea*, which is offered to the Sun,
- (2) *Butea frondosa*, to the Moon;
- (3) *Acacia catechu*, to Mars;
- (4) *Achyranthes aspera*, to Mercury;
- (5) *Ficus religiosa*, to Jupiter;
- (6) *F. glomerata*, to Venus;
- (7) *Acacia ferruginea*, to Saturn;
- (8) *Cynodon dactylon*, to Rahu;
- (9) *Poa cynosuroides*, to Kētu.

* On no occasions, except when partaking of the *Prasāda*, are Vaishnava Brahmins permitted to eat in public, or Tēngalais and Vādgalais to take food together.

Brahmanic Religion in South India, both Vaishnava and Saivite, abjures blood sacrifices, except the cruel *yāgam* which is fortunately too costly for modern piety. In the *yāgam* sacrifice, the victim, a ram, was killed by squeezing its *testes*, a duty performed by a potter. The flesh was fried in ghee and distributed to the Brahmins present. See Dubois p. 518. Contrast Mr. J.B. Oman's *Brahmans, Theists and Muslims*, p. 8, sq.

On the fire thus kindled ghee is poured.

On the day before the festival, the following articles are placed in readiness in the *sālai*, on a dais about 6 feet square and raised about 6 inches above the floor ;

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| (1) Paddy. | (4) Gingelly. |
| (2) Rice. | (5) Pan-supari. |
| (3) Plantain leaves. | (6) The " nine grains " |
| (7) Sixty-four small mud pots filled with water. | |

Round the latter a net work of thread is spun with a *Rattinam*, * and coins are placed inside the pots. Each pot is adorned with a cloth, *kurcham* (sacrificial grass) and flowers, and covered with a cocoanut.

These articles are symbolical ; the pots represent the body or flesh, the water the *prana* or life (*i. e.* blood), the thread stands for the pulse or sinews, the cloths for the skin, the cocoanut for the head, the *kurcham* for the hair, and the flowers for eyes. The pots are supposed to contain the Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.

The fire is kept burning throughout the festival ; formerly it was kindled by friction, but nowadays it is lit with burning camphor, which is ignited with a commonplace match.

The water remains in the pots throughout the festival and on the 13th day the god is bathed in it. The grain becomes the perquisite of the temple servants.

III.—ESTABLISHMENT.

A temple establishment should provide for the following offices :—

- (1) *archakar* or *stanigars*, to perform *pūja* thrice daily,
- (2) *parisāragars*, who supply fresh water for the god's ablutions (*abhi shēkam*.)
- (3) *Soyambāgi* (cook).
- (4) *Panchangam*, who must be present on all ceremonial occasions, and is responsible for determining the auspicious moments.
- (5) *Sahasra-nāma*, who repeats the thousand names of Siva while *pūja* is being done.
- (6) *Mantrapushpam*, who chants mantras during the daily *abhishēkam*.
- (7) *Yegnopavidam*. (*pūnūl*) who supplies a fresh thread for the god daily.
- (8) *sangidakkāran*, the temple chorister,
- (9) *mālai-katti*, † who provides the temple with flower garlands.

* Wheel used by weavers for winding yarn.

† Sometimes the *mālai-katti* attends to the temple gardens and sometimes separate gardeners (*tottakkarars*) are employed.

- (10) *gollan* or *uggirānam*, the temple storekeeper
- (11) *ochaikkāran*,* who looks after the temple lamps
- (12) *jadumari*,† (sweeper).

In addition to these, there is a *Periya Mēlam* and *Chinna-Mēlam*.

The *Periya-Mēlam* is the temple band, which should comprise players of the following instruments.

- (1) *ottu* (a wooden horn).
- (2) *nāgasuram* (a clarionet).
- (3) *dōl* (a kind of drum).
- (4) *kai-tālam* (cymbals).

The *Periya-mēlam* also includes a processional band of

- (1) *davundai* (a kind of drum).
- (2) *jangūdai* (a gong which is sounded with a wooden striker).
- (3) *tuttāri* (a straight metal horn, about one yard in length).
- (4) *tiru-chinnam*, twin pipes of brass, about 2 feet in length.

The *Chinna-Mēlam* consists of :—

- (1) *dēva-dāsis*, (dancing girls)
- (2) *nattuvan*, who accompanies the dancers and players an with songs with cymbals,
- (3) *tutti* (bag-pipes)and
- (4) *maddalam* or *mrithangam* (a barrel-shaped drum).

The whole temple staff is supervised generally by the *Kovil-Māniyan*, or temple Monegar, who is sometimes assisted by an accountant (*Shānbōgam* or *Karnam*).

Several of the above offices are held by two or more individuals, for not many temples can afford to entertain the full staff above enumerated. Occasionally the list is exceeded. For instance, in the Taramangalam temple, the staff consists in all of forty three persons, including, in addition to those above enumerated, a priest who prescribes the Vedic rites; another who recites the *Rudra-mantram* (*Rudrabishēkam*); another who calls on the God by his 108 names. (*Chidambrastottaram*); a fourth who recites Vedic verses (*Vēdapa-
rayanam*), a fifth who precedes the God in procession singing his praises (*Kuttiyamcholla-pattavar*), and a sixth who offers *Tumba* flowers (*Tumba-
pushpam-Kodukkiravan*). The *Mēlams* include half a dozen dancing girls and nine musicians.

Festivals may be classed as (1) local and (2) general.

* The *ochaikkāran* holds hand-lamps during puja. Sometimes a separate menial (*dipak-
karan*) is employed to light the lamps.

† Sometimes a special servant (*rangavalli*) is employed to decorate the temple floor with *chunam* patterns (*kolam*).

Local festivals are connected with particular temples, and usually take the form of an annual car festival which may last for periods varying from a few days to three weeks, or even more, during which a metal image (*utsava-vigraha*) of the deity is carried through the town or village in public procession.

General festivals on the other hand are determined by the Calendar, and are independent of local cults.

The most important of general festivals is *Pongal*. *Pongal* is essentially a Tamil feast and, unlike other festivals, its date depends solely on the Solar year; it is the festival of the winter solstice which closes the unauspicious month of *Mārgali*, and it serves also as a feast of first fruits, when the newly harvested rice is tasted for the first time.

Pongal has been described as "an annual house-warming or ingathering of kith and kin, and harvest home combined; the Christmas and Whitsuntide of Europe rolled into one." It is unsectarian and apparently non-Brahmanic in origin. Vedic deities only are worshipped. Indra presides and Agni is the main object of worship, the former representing the rain and the latter the sun. It answers to the *Makara Sankranti* of the rest of India.

The last day of *Mārgali* is called *Bhogi-pandikai* or Indra's *Pongal* and is celebrated with a family feast.

The first day of *Tai* (usually January 15th) is called *Sūrya-Pongal* (*Pongal* of the sun) or *Sankrānti* (entrance of the sun into Capricorn, or *Uttarayana Punniya-kālem* festival of the northward movement of the sun). The word *Pongal* means "boiling", and one of the chief ceremonies of the day is the boiling of the rice of the new harvest with milk and jaggery and its dedication to *Vignēsvara*. It is a great day for social interchange of visits and for the feeding of the poor. Most of the rites observed are in honour of the Sun.

The second day of *Tai* is known as *Māttu-Pongal* (*Pongal* of the Cattle). On it all the cows, bullocks, buffaloes, etc., of a family are bathed, decorated, worshipped and fed with cooked rice. In many villages a kind of bull-baiting is indulged in.

The *gūli-mādu* (breed-bull) of each village is secured by a stout rope looped round its neck, each end of the rope being held by a dozen or more villagers. Saffron water is sprinkled on the head of the bull in front of the *Māri-amman* temple; red paint is daubed on its back, hump and horns. The bull is teased to a state of frenzy by a bunch of red and black rags tied on the end of a stick, which is waved about under its nose. Whenever the bull runs, the rope is slackened, swaying first in one direction and then another. The bull

is made to pass thrice round the shrine in a direction the reverse of the orthodox circumambulation, i.e. counter-clockwise.

With the exception of the Tamil (Solar) New Year's Day, all other festivals of importance are regulated by the Lunar Calendar.

The *Dasara*, (*dasa-ratri*) is not observed as a general holiday as it is in Mysore, but the ninth day thereof is celebrated by all castes throughout the district, by the Brahmans as *Sarasvati-Pūja* and by others as *Ayudha-Puja*, every one, from the pandit to the cooly, making obeisance to the instruments of his particular vocation, from pens and books to ploughs and hoes. The following day, *Vijaya Dasami* is regarded as auspicious for all undertakings and is generally celebrated with a procession of the Brahmanic deities.

Mahalaya Amavasai itself, the new moon day of Purattasi, (or Bhadrapada, late September or early October) is observed as an All Souls' Day by the higher castes, being dedicated to the worship of departed ancestors.

The eve of next new moon day (Arpisi or the 13th or 14th of the waning of the lunar month Asvija) begins *Dīpavali*,* the Feast of Lamps, when every man, woman and child wears new cloths. The festival lasts three days, and is celebrated with the firing of crackers in the early morning, and the illumination of houses with rows of lamps.

Other festivals observed by the higher castes are those of

- (1) *Upakarma* or *Avani-Avittam* (July or August), when all the twice born renew their sacred thread.
- (2) the *Krittika* † (held on the full moon of Kartigai, late November or early December), when temples, *matams* and dwelling-houses are illuminated as at *Dīpavali*.
- (3) *Sri Jayanti* or *Krishnashtami* ‡ (Birthday of Krishna,) celebrated on the "eighth day" of the waning half of the lunar month Sravana, late August or early September.
- (4) the *Mukkoti* or *Vaikunta Ekadasi*, (the eleventh day of the waxing fortnight of the lunar month Margasira, December or early January)

* The rule is that at the time of moonrise it should be the 14th lunar day (*tithi*); the civil day of the lunar year begins at sunrise, and is numbered according to the *tithi* current at the moment of sunrise.

† The *Krittika Utsavam* is observed by the Saivites and Vaishnavites, but not always on the same day; the former regard it as commemorating the occasion when Siva converted himself into a pillar of fire, to test the superiority of Brahma or Vishnu, and directed Brahma to discover his head and Vishnu his feet. Brahma lied, and Siva's curse was that Brahma should never be worshipped, See *Hindu Feasts, etc.* P. 62. The Saivites call the festival *Siva-dīpam*, and the Vaishnavites, *Vishnudīpam*. Vide *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol I, p. 79.

‡ The birthday of Krishna is observed by the Saivites but not always on the same day. The Smarthas call it *Gokula-ashtami*. In northern India it is called *Janmashtami*. See *Hindu Feasts Fasts and Ceremonies*, P. 97.

which has a special significance in Vishnu temples in connection with the *Svarga-vasal*, and

(5) the *Tai-Pusam* or full moon of Tai (January or February).

Lastly, mention must be made of the festival of the 18th day of the month of Adi,* when the Kaveri (Cauvery) flood is supposed to reach its highest, an event which all good ryots in South India should respect, and an occasion when ablutions in the Kaveri, particularly at places like *Hogen-kal* and *Solappadi* where it is joined by its tributaries, are specially efficacious.

A general annual festival in honour of Siva, known as *Maha Siva Ratri*, is held on the eve of the new moon day of Masi, or the last day but one of the lunar month of Magha. (late February or early March). † Most Siva shrines have in addition two or three festivals in the year, during which the images of Siva and Parvati and perhaps some attendant deities are carried out in procession.

There is no general festival specially devoted to Vishnu, though most of the more important general festivals are observed by Vaishnavites. The *Sri Rama Navami* falls on the "ninth day" of the waxing fortnight of the lunar month Chaitra (March or April), and is often accompanied by recitals of the Ramayana. Vishnu is usually carried in procession of Krishna's Birthday (Sri-Jayanti), on the day after *Sarasvati Puja*, (*Vijaya-Dasami*), and on the full moon day of Margali.

Lakshmi is worshipped at the *Vara-Lakshmi* festival of the tenth or eleventh day of the waxing half of the lunar month of Sravana.

* Pathin-ettam-perukkam, or "Eighteenth increase", the rise of the Caveri is estimated in that number of levels or grades.

† Vide Hindu Feasts, etc., p. 89.

TIPPU SULTAN

From a Contemporary Memoir

BY MR. G. R. JOSYER, M.A., (Hons.)

A century ago, in France, the home of polished manner and thought, was ushered into the world by Auguste Comte, a philosophical movement known as Positivism whose English exponent was the noted Frederic Harrison. Its purpose was the celebration each day of one or more individuals, who have contributed in however small a manner to the civilisation of the world, so that by the celebration of the virtues of the past great, the present might receive inspiration to the performance of works similar to theirs. At worst it would be a necessary, though poor return, for these past, who spent their lives in striving to further the happiness of mankind. I have that in my mind when I make Tippu Sultan my hero of to-day. Also, I wish to dispel from the public mind a feeling in which they have grown up from their boyhood from reading uneducated quack writers on history, that Tippu was a character, the most exceptionally vile and infamous, whose tread soiled the plains of Mysore, and whose breath sullied the air of Seringapatam: a figure painted so dark and ghastly in their mental canvas that they can only recall it with a shudder, or whisper it in the ears of their children only to terrify. I do not know whether Tippu made any contribution to the civilisation of the world, but I have chosen him as the subject of my treatment, because his is a figure which stands out even more than his father's, pre-eminently, amongst, and most distinctly aloof from, the rulers of this country, and also because his career linked the history of this small way-side state with that of the great whole in the most troublous century in the history of India. Perhaps also it may be a perverse leaning towards one who happens to be under general popular disfavour.

My treatment of Tippu, the ruler of Mysore, will not be historical, because my instinct is not historical, nor will I make this a literary criticism of the translated contemporary memoir, because the memoir is not of such fundamental literary interest as Gibbon's, or Allison's, or Herodotus' books on history. My interest merely is biographical. I would fain treat of my hero with the force, and with the graphic power with which Carlyle has treated his Frederic the Great, or with the loving exquisite detail with which Boswell has treated his Johnson: but my own personal impatience, united to my place in an office the most tremendously busy, and perhaps the comparative limitations of my powers, might result in my placing before you a sketch which

might raise in your minds the same thoughts which the hero himself raises in the minds of our school boys. Nevertheless bear with me.

One esteemed critic who condescended to peruse the paper as a matter of right said "You have white-washed Tippu." It is no doubt true, that the colour of Tippu, as of many others of us, does require white-washing, but I should respectfully, and gently differ from a remark which should mean that his character was naturally black. I have no kind of interest in praising him unworthily. You might take also my assurance that my family boasts no lands or jaghirs derived from that noble prince.

Treating of the life of Haidar, the father of Tippu, one historian writes that he had once taken a young Nair from Malabar, and converting him to Islam, with the name of Shaik Iyaz, appointed him Governor of Chitaldrug. "He was a handsome youth," he says, and Haider had formed the most exalted opinion of his merits, frequently upbraiding his son, Tippu, for inferiority to him. Modest as he was faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent, and particularly objected that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge. "Keep a *Korda* at your right hand" said Haidar "and that will do you better service than pen and ink". Then assuming a graver countenance, "*Place relignce*" added he, "*on your excellent understanding; act from yourself alone: fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers: but trust in me as I trust in you. Reading and writing! How have I risen to Empire without the knowledge of either?*" This was the man who was born in 1722 of a peon, and growing among peons, became the Governor of Dindigal at 33 and the military support of many kings not long after. He was the father of the being who forms our theme to-day, and who I think, ought to have been named the *Bull* rather than the *Tiger*: because the history of Tippu seems to me a great human enactment of the ancient Spanish pastime of *bull-baiting*. In the history of Moghul sovereignty at Delhi, you hear that in the beginning of Moghul ascendancy in India, Humayun, the second of that race, was reduced to such straits once by the Afghan Sher Shah that he had to run away for his life through the deserts of Gobi, and that the great Sikander, known to us as Akbar, entered the world at a time when his mother was a refugee, and his father was an out-cast. So there was a time in Tippu's infancy when he and his brother and mother were prisoners in Seringapatam and his ascendant father was driven away for a time from his power and family by a jealous, and treacherous, dependant. It was that dependant who is known to popular fable as the man whom Haider afterwards promised to take care of like a parrot, Khande Rao, and who was placed in a cage, and fed with rice and milk like a parrot. It was

then at Seringapatam, when Haider was far away trying to gather his fallen resources, that, when Tippu was one day playing with other boys in front of a temple near the Ganjam gate, a Mahommadan Fakir passed that way, and casting his eyes on Haider's boy, said to him "Fortunate child, at a future time you will be the king of this country, and when that time comes, remember my words; take this temple and destroy it, and build a musjid in its place, and for ages it will remain a memorial of thee." The Sultan smiled, and in reply told him that "whenever, by his blessing he should become a Padishah, he would do as the Fakir directed." Sometime later, his father returned all glorious, and the mosque which on his succession Tippu built on the site of the temple is still a watch-tower for miles around, and the cooing of doves from its lofty turrets invites the thoughtful traveller to gaze at it in mournful wonder. My historian begins his memoir at the time when Tippu, true to the mendicant's words, succeeded his father as the sovereign of Mysore. His language is figuratively oriental, almost sanscritic in its quaint imaginative round-about-ness, his dates are according to the Hijra or Mahomadan calendar, and he writes not with the over-flowing literary adeptness of the English historian of two centuries ago, Robertson, Hume or Hallam, or the verbose scientific exactness of the modern Cambridge scholar, but with the naivete of the courtier who tells the story of his king in a language which by nature abounds in figures. He has written with the frankness of a follower who never hesitated to recount the praises of his master when his master was praiseworthy, and never shrank from re-counting his fooleries when he acted like a fool. I am uncertain what course I might pursue in placing an account of this book before you. I may not give you a summary of the events centred in each chapter, for that would take you to the long hours of the night, like a sitting of Parliament: and it would be dull, too, infinitely dull. Nor would I like to give a chronological account of the most important events of Tippu's life, as found in this book, because none of you are ignorant of his conquests from self defence and conquests from self respect, and Tippu's life is most full of conquests and defeats. I would merely pick out the most interesting and characteristic facts contained in the book, whether they bring out in clearer detail the personality of Tippu or whether they throw a more full light on the life of the times.

He was born about the year 1752, just at the dawning of his father's greatness, and, as he grew up, became that father's lieutenant in his many attempts to obtain sovereign sway in the political readjustments of the kingdoms of South India. That father reached the acme of his power about the year 1782, and then, when his son and followers were measuring strength against the most redoubtable among his rival powers, the royal son of a peon

was seized by what is known as royal boil, and breathed his last. And on a Saturday in the beginning of the year 1197 Hijri, or in 1783 by the date of Christ, Tippu was enthroned on his father's seat of royalty. From that date, during the seventeen years following, up to the end of the century and of his life, he was constantly involved in an exhausting external war, when he was not harassed by an interminable civil war. Imagine a country broken into ten thousand principalities, owing an occasional allegiance to some powerful potentate, a country where there was not much of civil order or peaceful organisation, where communication was hard, and life was precarious. In such a country Tippu had to maintain his position secure from the nominal rulers of the state,—because it must be remembered that Haider and Tippu were somewhat like Warwick the king maker in the 14th century of England, keeping alive a Hindu King but containing all kingly authority in themselves—then, to preserve his authority over the vast and distant numbers of Polygars and Governors whom his father's power had handed down to him, and to maintain his independence against three mighty powers which were ever on the alert to crush him. From the defection of his own immediately subordinate Viceroys, to the restless, impudent onslaughts of his allegient Polygars, and the civic disobedience and treachery of his courtiers, he had to bear many disappointments and vexations during his brief and stormy régime: And that he bore it all with the pained madness of a bull sometimes and sometimes with the worried fierceness of a tiger, and only succumbed at last, like Caesar, to the unanimous force of the most proud of his foes and the infamous treachery of the most favoured of his followers, shows that here was no mean man. Immediately on coming to the throne, he had to face a rebellion at Naggur, a revocation of his authority at Mangalore, to continue the warfare with the British from Bombay and Madras, and to bear the head-strong disobedience of one of the most valued of his father's warriors. Besides, in the capital, there were ministers who practised the greatest frauds with regard both to their master and his subjects, and he had to punish them, if he did not want them to undermine him. Tippu succeeded in restoring his authority at Naggur, reduced Mangalore once again to subjection, made peace with the British, with sorrow let his favourite Mahomed Ali pay the penalty of his head-strongness, and impaled or enchained those who had sought to bring him down in his capital. This Mahomed Ali above referred is made out to be a great character. He had helped Haider largely in his conquests, and had supported Tippu, and was the medium of Kasim the rebel Governor of Naggur offering his submission to Tippu. But Tippu was wroth with the man who had played false to his trust, and knowing the necessity of making an example in the beginning of his reign, sentenced Kasim to be impaled. But then

Mahomed Ali at the moment of effecting that punishment went up and insisted on his being made a joint victim in the act. That was reported to Tippu, and he ordered that for Mahomed Ali's sake, Kasim should be spared that day, but destroyed on the next. However, the next day, when the act was about to be performed, Mahomad Ali went and took him away on an elephant, and departed from the vicinity. On that, he was pursued by Tippu's orders, and was ironed and sent off to Seringapatam, and his followers severely punished. When Mahomed Ali heard how they had bewailed their adherence to him, he pulled out his tongue by the root, and so died. This man is said to have been so noble and honest, and charitable, that in Haider's time, when Fakirs went to the Nawab, he would impatiently say, "go to that fellow," and Mahomed Ali would give up to them his all without discrimination. After his death they found nothing, but some old clothes and a mendicant's cap for his effects.

Then Tippu for the first time went to his capital as king, and one of the first things he did was to enforce the use of Persian and Turkish languages in the military practice of his men, and to get up a treatise called *Futtah all Mujahidin*, which thenceforward formed the code of military discipline and practice throughout his territory. Then he raised the well known character, Mir Sadak, to the place of Saheb Dewan: and was favoured from the Peshwa with a demand for the *horse-shoe* tribute which had been outstanding for two years. The Sultan, in reply, sent some presents and excuses. Then again the Chiefs of Punganoor, Madanpally and Noorganda broke out in rebellion, but they were promptly reduced, and the leaders of the expedition against them returned to his presence, with all the plunder and elephants and camels, which were passed in review before him. It reminds one of the old Roman mode of triumphal celebrations. Then the Sultan visited Devanahalli, his birth place, and naming it Yousufabad, and arranging for its renovation, returned to his capital.

Then owing to the rapacity of the Foujdar of Coorg, rebellion broke out in that country, and Tippu had to go to subdue it. He did so, and in that connection, my author's description of the country is so enticing that I cannot help giving you an extract of it. It gives you also an idea of his style. "The Sultan," he says "with his irregular Foot, Kushoons, and artillery, crossing the Ghat threw himself like a raging lion in the midst of that frightful forest, the Coorg country. What can I say of this wonderful wilderness! The pen trembles at its mention alone. Its bamboo brakes intricate as the woolly curls of an Abyssinian, the roads or paths, confused as the lines of the galaxy. The high and low lands of that country unequal, as the souls of the generous and miserly. The hills and valleys impassable. The low

grounds covered with rice crops as high as the waist. The rivers in that country like the eyes of the sorrowful, always overflowing. The tanks and the reservoirs on the roads, like the eyes of the forsaken, full day and night. The bride of the verdant earth, drowned in the dew of modesty, veils herself from the eyes of the sun in the dark shades of the forest: parterres of the buds, flowerets of the Mehdi, velvet, and hundred-leaved roses, always blossoming, like wanton girls, take off their modest veils to show their beauties. Wild elephants resembling mountains, both male and female, like troops of buffaloes wander about at their perfect ease; and the young ones, like young Abyssinians, making chowkans of their trunks, play at ball. . . . The men are mostly of a brown complexion, or the colour of wheat; but some are black. The women are beautiful, and in bloom and delicacy, the envy of the beauties of China and Choghul, and in elegance of form and gait, silvery complexions, and lovelines of features, rival the maids of Turkistan and Persia A description of the cold here makes the pen before it begins to write stiff as if it were plunged into the frozen sea, and the tongue of truth at describing the temperature is with fear and astonishment congealed like ice, notwithstanding it is covered with the postern of the lips; what can it say therefore? The sun with all its heat, fearing the influence of cold, every day covers his head with a counterpane of clouds, and hurries away from this country. The fast travelling moon also every night from a similar fear hides her face in the blue veil of the heavens. This however, which has been written, is the description of the summer. God protect us from the winter and rainy seasons, for during six months in the year, the clouds of Azur pour their showers over the whole of that country: until two hours of the day have arisen, the vapours of the falling dew, like the sight of the afflicted, cover hill and dale, and many straight, well made, active, young men, from the violence of the cold having lost the warmth or use of their limbs, sleep in their huts like a bow, with their feet and breasts doubled up together." That is enough. I think that is as true and realistic a description as any body could write.

Tippu subdued the rebel Coorgs, and having converted all those taken as prisoners into the Moslem faith, and having accepted tribute from Ballia Banoo, Queen of Cannanore, returned to Seringapatam, and set about paying attention to the Civil administration of the country. Having rewarded the soldiers with gorgets of gold and silver, he set about christening the months and the years and the forts of his kingdom with Mahommadan names. Coorg was called Zufurabad, Mysore, Nazarabad, Devanahalli, Yousfabad, and so numerous others, and six or seven thousand mahommadan people were sent to inhabit Coorg, but many of them were permitted to return owing to the inclemency of the weather.

At this time, the Peshwa and the Nizam made common cause against him, and came down on his country with their hosts of horse-men and infantry. Then began a campaign of terrible devastation on the one side, and righteous anger on the other, the like of which only a contemporary can know. But it is important to us as having given rise to a notable pronouncement from Tippu addressed to a partisan of the Nizam. He asks him to induce the Nizam to join forces with him : "for that he had bound up his loins in this religious war in order to establish Islam on a firm basis, to obtain the favour of God, and ensure the peace and safety of God's people." It reminds us of the old stand of Saladin against the Christian crusaders. It was during this campaign too that hearing that the fair folk of a fortress on the Tungabhadra had drowned themselves in the flooding river from fear of the excesses of the soldiery, Tippu punished the soldiers severely and issued a solemn command most strictly forbidding such mal-practices, and enforcing the most severe penalties on further offenders. It was during this campaign also that his Brigadiers brought before him a number of women and children of the Maharatta chiefs as prisoners, and the Sultan, the emblem of mercy as the author of the memoir says, dispatched the women with presents of honorary dresses and robes, in palanquins and under the charge of a party of rocketeers to the Maharatta camp. He sent also through the medium of these ladies, four elephants, and eight beautiful horses, and a sum of money, to Hari-Pant and two other Maharatta leaders, and thereby made them the slaves of his command and his munificence. Readers might be able to note the extent of this campaign when it is pointed out that one division of his army was commissioned to conquer the dependencies of Haiderabad, another to the conquest of those of Poona, a third to maintain order at Raichur, Kootoor and other districts, and a fourth to guard the Capital and control the several districts of the Poligars, while Tippu himself was to attack the Maharattas. We do not follow them here in their various courses, but with respect to the last, when the guerilla-like maharattas worried the outskirts of his army with stolen bites of attacks, as the Spanish and the Tyrolese attacked Napoleon, as the Boers attacked the British, or as the Irish attacked the English, the Sultan got vexed and sent a message to the Maharatta Chief to this effect, "that it was unworthy of noble generous minds to injure or distress God's people without cause, and that if he had the breath of manhood still remaining in him, the dispute might be settled in an hour : that his wish was that in a well fought battle of one day they should finish the book of strife and contention." Those who are engaged in the present horrid war might draw a mountain of lesson from that message. However, the campaign was closed by the Sultan

sending some of his nobles to Poona with friendly letters, some money, and a few varieties of valuable clothes and jewels, among which was one diamond necklace worth not less than five lakhs of rupees. Peace was concluded, and Hari-Pant, once mentioned before, who was instrumental in bringing it about, was presented one Taluka and several towns as Jahgir, to furnish his *Pan and betel-nut expenses*,

This took him to the fifth year of his reign or the 35th of his life, and he then returned to his capital. After the conclusion of peace, he occupied his mind in the regulation of his kingdom and army. Then came to his notice the exaction and tyranny of his Dewan, Mir Sadak, who was about this time like the ministers of Henry VII or Henry VIII, though at a later time he became like one of the great Cardinal ministers of France, Richelieu and Mazarin. Mir Sadik was for a time dismissed from office. Then the Sultan built the Musjid early referred to, and divided the whole of his territories into three parts, *the coast land, the hilly country, and the level plains*. He appointed also vigilant guards for every city and fort, establishing a commercial system something like the medieval exclusive townships of England. The object was to prevent Mahommadan settlers from going away after amassing wealth, though Mr. Rice has construed it into a prevention of imports and exports. He brought also into vogue silver coins or rupees called *Imami* which are even now to be occasionally seen in old families in this country. He introduced the Mahommadi year, which was thirteen years more than the Hijri and dated from the commencement of the Prophet's mission, and made it current throughout his dominions. Now also the ambassadors who had been sent to Constantinople in the year 1783, returned, and on the message they brought, the Sultan assumed the regular pomp of royalty, and directed the formation of a jewelled throne of gold, shaped in the form of a Tiger. This we are told is now at Windsor Castle, also the *huma* or Bird of Paradise, covered with jewels, which glittered at the top of the canopy. Then English and French artisans were employed to cast metal or brass guns, manufacture muskets, and fashion cutlery and hour-glasses and blades, and factories were established at four centres, the Capital, Bangalore, Chitaldrug and Naggur. Now also Tippu began to make appointments to offices by the mere glance and the mere satisfaction of the eye. We are told that this led to grand confusion; and since further, amongst the military, he preferred artillery and muskets, those who were good at the sword and spear lost heart, and lost their love for him. We do not know what to say to this, except that kingship is a very onerous task. If anything is ascribed as the one cause of the gallantry of the Grand Army of Napoleon and their inordinate devotion to him, it is his breaking of exclusive barriers and

opening all offices to all conditions of men. Why it should have succeeded in France, and why it should have failed in Mysore, I cannot afford to surmise.

Then the Sultan sent some ambassadors to Hyderabad with presents and letters, with the object of strengthening the foundations of concord and amity, intending that each should support the other in all territorial and fiscal measures; strengthening these relations by the ties of kindred and marriage purely with regard to the interests of Islam. The Ambassador's speech to the Nizam is interesting. He said that to the enlightened mind of the Nizam it must be evident that rank and greatness in this world did not possess the quality of duration, and that its pleasures were always in a state of change or evanescence; that it was known to all that the whole of the countries of the Dekhun and Telingana was formerly in the powerful grasp of a fortunate man of the Bahmani race; and that from the terror of the sword of that prince, the face of the territory of Islam was freed from the brambles and thorns of infidel opposition. At this time, therefore, that a Mahommadan Padishah or king should accord with and make friends of faithless infidels, and then cause them to lay violent hands on the territory and wealth of Mussalmans, and let the helpless inhabitants to be burned with the fire of persecution, would certainly meet reprobation both from God and man; and moreover, that this dishonorable conduct would be the cause of shame and retribution at the Last Day; that it would be better therefore that the dust of enmity and revenge should be allayed by the pure water of peace, and that the non-military and peaceable classes should not be disturbed, or their faith shaken for the enjoyment of pomp and state of a few days—at best a very short time: that for the sake of their country and religion they should fold up the carpet of enmity to each other, and strengthen the foundations of friendship and regard, by the rites of matrimonial connection, that, united in repelling and conquering the infidels, they might so use their best endeavours, that the whole of the Moslem population, the poor, the peasantry, and strangers, might repose on the couch of safety and comfort and pass their time in prayer for the long continuance of the *reigns of the kings of Islam*. “This address, though it made the Nizam smile like the full-blown rose, yet, as the letter included the mention of matrimonial connection, he, excited by his folly and by the advice of his women, became angry, and gave these joy dispensing words no place in his envious mind.” My biographer gains heat as he argues against those who spoke of the low birth of his king. “Do they not know” he asks “that the power of the Almighty, the truly and the only powerful, is infinite? That he can select any one He pleases, and make him great in both worlds, and in this lower world can exalt him to the highest pinnacle of rank and station? It appears they knew nothing of the history of Timur Gorkhan Sahib Kiran, from whom

the powerful dynasty of the Emperors of Hind is derived. What was his origin and what did he become? It appears also as if they had never heard of Hussain Kango, the first of the Sultans of Bahamani Dynasty, and who was styled Hussain Shah Bahmani, and of whom it is related, that after his death, the blazing lightning passed round the enclosure or precincts of his tomb, the marks of the passage of which still remain. Who was he? Good God, is it possible that on the strength of worldly power and distinction, low fellows boast of their noble birth or descent and men of the dregs of the people, falsely claim to be Shaikhs and Syeds, and consider no one equal to themselves! *'Low birth is hidden by wealth and station!'* *'The Golden veil conceals the ugliness of the old Courtesan!'* Then in 1790 rebellion broke out at Kallikote, and when that had been suppressed, it showed itself in Koochi Bunder or Cochin. How they harassed the Sultan, and how his vials of wrath were poured out on them, and made the populace fly out for refuge to Malabar, have become facts for the ordinary populace. Before returning, Tippu took a nutmeg tree which was growing in the fort, and wrapping it in rice straw, transplanted it to the Lal Bagh, at his capital, but it died soon after.

The conquest next of Malabar led to the great Third Mysore War, in which he lost many a man who was as his right hand, on the death of one of whom, my author says, "the Sultan, who had a tender heart, at the death of that strong arm of his prosperity, was much grieved, nay, so afflicted, that he shed many tears, and therefore on that day he restrained his troops from fighting any more. How by strength of numbers and by the concerted action of the three Northern Powers, the Tiger was driven to his lair, and how the treachery of Krishna Rao and other guardians of the city—which had gone so far as to stop the muzzles of several guns engaged in action with sand and mud,—made it easy for Cornwallis to rope him, is well known. It would interest readers to know specially at this time, that in Cornwallis' camp a seer of rice was sold nominally at the price of four rupees, but that no one ever saw a grain, and three rupees was the price of a seer of ragi-flour. The price of a seer of clarified butter was eight rupees, and a *hoon* was paid for a chicken, and even at that price they were not procurable.

Tippu offered peace, but though Lord Cornwallis was for it, General Meadows opposed. But the General failed in some subsequent actions, and returning to his tent with shame, loaded a pistol and fired it off on himself. He missed his aim, and Cornwallis consoled him and induced him to agree to peace. The terms of that peace, how the fangs of the furious tiger were actually blunted by them, how the tiger mother was relieved of the care of its cubs, we have all known!

From that day, the Sultan used his utmost endeavours to understand rightly the condition of his kingdom, and to ascertain the loyalty and disloyalty of his chief civil and military servants. He found that Mehdi Khan who had displaced Mir Sadak as chief minister, was faithless, and once again brought back Mir Sadak to power. The old wolf, whose heart from the time he had been displaced, was filled with vapours of rancour and malice, seized on the opportunity, and accused most of the most faithful Amirs and Khans, of neglect and disaffection, and turning the Sultan's mind against them had them all put to death. From this period, the Sultan renounced all punishment, such as beating, flogging, or displacing the officers of his government, and instead, assembling all his nobles and Asofs and Governors, as William the Conqueror had done after his conquest of the throne of England, exacted an oath from each of them in front of the Altar, with the Koran in his hand, that he would not fail in his duty to the Government, nor make any false charge nor embezzle the money collected and forwarded by him on account of the revenue, that he would not allow the poor or the peasantry to be oppressed in word or deed, and that they should pass their time in prayer, their regular or daily duties, and abstain from forbidden things. But their oaths went the way of oaths in general. He also built a Musjid in every town, and appointed a Mouazzin, a Moula, and a Kazi, and promoted the education and learning of Mussalmans to the utmost of his power. He who neglected his appointed prayers and the one who broke the ninth commandment, he considered his personal enemy. Then gradually for the sake of religion, he withheld his hand from the duties of government and conquest, and ceased to enquire into the actions and conduct of his agents and servants. It was heyday for Mir Sadak : covered with kingly benefits, he opened wide the doors of deceit and fraud on the highest and lowest of the state, until at length, the reins of Government, and the supreme directions of affairs, all fell into his hands, and his duties and rank rose higher and higher. When some of the Sultan's yet faithful officers saw this state of things, they withdrew their tongues and hands from his service. And the Sultan himself, during the latter part of his reign, laid claims to rights which no one of the kings of Arabia or Persia had dared to use, and which every true Mahommadan considered an anathema. Meanwhile, he had sent a second embassy to the Sultan of Constantinople, and about 1798, several Frenchmen arrived at the Capital from the Port of Mauritius, a fact which has been construed by Mr. Rice and others into a league with the red-ragged French Democrats. This misconception led to the fourth and last Mysore War, which closed the life career of Tippu. After a career of 17 years, the man who had not a moment's peace, and whose life had been like a grand gladiatorial show for the rest of the world, closed his eyes on the field of

battle like a true Moslem hero, "and with that the light of the religion of Islam had departed from the world. His heart was ever bent on religious warfare, and at length he obtained the crown of martyrdom, even as he desired!"

All the elephants and camels, and treasures and jewels, and property of every description, belonging to the Sultan, fell into the hands of the English. The new throne was broken up, and the diamonds and jewels, with chests full of jewelled gorgets and pearl necklaces, were sold by auction, and all the arms and stores were plundered, and the library of the deceased Sultan sent to Europe.

I have done. We have followed a cinematograph representation of a career which was not so weak as to be called contemptible, nor so vicious as to be called reprehensible. From his numerous campaigns, and from his numerous successes, it is apparent that here was no weak man. At that time of uncontrolled cross currents in political and social life, it can easily be imagined how eminently difficult it must have been for a man to maintain his power against defection at home, and against aggression abroad, and Tippu lived a ruler during the best part of his manhood, and died on the field of battle. Nor was he purely a man of the sword. My memoir says, and Mr. Rice agrees, that he had profited to a considerable extent in all the sciences. He wrote and composed with ease and elegance, and had a great talent for business. Nor was he a mere man of the world: but religious devotion has been ascribed to him even as a crime. His military campaigns were not the result of an itching for glory as those of Alexander, not a lust for power as those of Julius Caesar, not an infinite love of combat as those of Emperor Napoleon, nor an extravagant thirst for blood as those of the German Kaiser William. His wars were nothing more than means of preservation of those territories which were a heritage from his father. He hated Hindus no doubt, but his treatment of them did not resemble those of the blood-sucking fiend Aurangazeb, who stepped over his father and three brothers to his father's throne. We hear in his time of high officials being impaled, a strange punishment for high officials, no doubt! It looks somewhat like the practice of the English Henry VIII, but Tippu's cause of punishment was never a connubial or personal interest, but always oppression of the people, or falseness to the public trust. The translator Colonel Miles, once says "Tippu's character cannot be better exemplified than by the cases of Mahommed Ali, Commandant, and Gazi-Khan Fede." Mahommed Ali, as I have pointed out in my account, was never executed, or if Tippu could be said to be guilty of having put him in chains and prison, we wonder what posterity should say to Henry VIII, who coldly murdered Sir Thomas More, that loveliest scholar and statesman of mediæval England, just because he had been gentleman enough

to support an outraged and oppressed Queen ! It is also attempted at times to excite our feelings against him by saying that during his campaigns at Cochin and Malabar, he made vast numbers there subservient to his religion. There are half a dozen sovereigns who graced the majestic throne of Britain, Henry VIII, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, Edward IV, and Cromwell, and Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, and he who ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France,—I have not enough fingers on my hand to count them ;—there are so many of those who graced the best thrones of enlightened Europe, who thought as little of lopping a heretic's head as of drawing one superfluous breath. Even we humble individuals who talk glibly of the greatness of our religions, and tolerance for others, we know what we would do if sovereign power were awarded to us. To me Tippu appears to be a man who deserves our compassion and pity for his struggles and sufferings, rather than to be blackened and defamed in all manner of means, by all manner of people. His gentle regard for women, his manliness and devotion, prove that he was not a bad man, and least of all a bad king. We do not hear under him of the mad doings of a Mohamad Bin Toglak, the atrocious doings of a Nero or Caligula, or the intemperate doings of an English John. To me that period in his history in which his two sons are taken away by Cornwallis as a pledge for his money is a symbol of infinite and insufferable woe ; and I know of only one parallel occurrence in the world's history, when Napoleon after the capture of Paris pleads that his son may be preserved on his throne ! Tippu, may not be so majestic and noble as Akbar the Great, or so simple and virtuous as Edward the Peacemaker, or so quiet and good as he who reigns on the throne of Mysore now. A French writer speaking of the gifts of the women of various countries, in a very intelligent book, has said, "If the law of my country made polygamy compulsory, I would make love to an English woman or a fair daughter of Virginia ; I would have my house kept by a German wife ; my artistic inclinations I would trust to a French woman ; my intellectual ones to an American one. Then when life got a bit dull, and I wanted my blood stirred up, I would call on my Spanish wife." So Tippu had fallen on a time and in a country which was broken up into a myriad pieces as the time of the Heptarchy in England, which was open to a band of vigilant and relentless enemies as the latter days of Napoleon in France, was infested by a mass of nobles, unscrupulous and venomous, as those of the worst days of Italy, and was covered by a population, unsympathetic and restless, as in the days of the Moors in Spain. In spite of all that, that he proved himself no worse than he did, shows that this was a man for whom the Mythic Society may well spare a day in their calendar, and on whom humanity may well bend a solitary glance of kindness and sympathy.

“CHARUDATTA”—A FRAGMENT.

BY V. S. SUKTHANKAR, PH. D., POONA.

PANDIT GANAPATI SASTRY of Travancore, to whose indefatigable industry we owe the discovery and publication of the drama *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa,* takes evidently for granted that the four Acts of the play published by him form a drama complete in itself. Indeed, the assumption is not entirely groundless; for, one of the manuscripts upon which the play published by Ganapati Sastri is based, does conclude with the words: *avasitam Chārudattam* (‘here ends the *Chārudatta*’), which is a clear indication that the play should end there. But the other manuscript (MS. Kh. of Ganapati Sastri) contains no such words—a significant difference which clearly needs some explanation. The MS. Kh. is, moreover, as the editor himself tells us in the preface (p. i), comparatively free from errors†. This ought to have roused the suspicions of the learned Pandit, but it apparently did not do so. He unhesitatingly follows the MS. Kh. and assumes that the drama ends with the fourth Act.

The absence of the words *avasitam Chārudattam*, or other words of like meaning is perhaps, after all, not a matter of much consequence. Their omission may be ascribed to the carelessness of the scribe. Yet another omission in the manuscripts under reference, namely, that of the *Bharata-vākya*, or the benedictory stanza, found at the end of most of the dramas of Bhāsa, is undoubtedly of a more serious nature. Neither of the manuscripts contains any such verse. But it may be urged that the absence of the *Bharata-vākya* (as of the word *avasita*) cannot by itself prove that there are more Acts to follow. For it is easily imaginable that the benedictory stanza, which naturally stands at the fag end of the drama, may have been at first omitted by careless copyists and then entirely lost. Against this latter assumption, however, may be supported a number of arguments which tend to prove the theory advanced in this article, namely, that our *Chārudatta* is a fragment; and these we shall now briefly discuss.

Even a casual reader of the play will notice that the events narrated in the four Acts before us are of a very humdrum character and are deficient in the organic connection between Character and Plot, in the attempt at group-

* The *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa edited with notes by T. Ganapati Sāstri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXIX), Trivandrum, 1914.

† It may be added that many readings of Kh. which have been relegated to the footnotes by the editor, deserve to be adopted in the text.

ing round a passion which is natural to a love-drama. In the first Act, Vasantasenā, in order to escape from the undesirable advances of Śākāra and Viṭa, takes shelter in Chārudatta's house, and utilises the pursuit as a very plausible excuse for leaving with Chārudatta for safe-keeping the ornaments which she is wearing. In the second Act, Saṁvāhaka (Chārudatta's former shampooer, since discharged), is rescued, first, through Vasantasenā's generosity from the clutches of his clamorous creditors, and then, by her servant from the tusks of an infuriated elephant. In the third Act, the ornaments which were deposited by Vasantasenā with the hero of the play are stolen by Sajjalaka (the impecunious lover of Vasantasenā's maid-servant), whereupon Chārudatta's wife (a minor character) nobly sacrifices a very valuable heirloom belonging to her in order to repay Chārudatta's debt of honour. All this is very interestingly told : but the main story—the love romance of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta—does not advance any further in either of the last two Acts. And in the text before us there remains only one more Act. In this last Act, Vasantasenā, who has overheard the confession of the thief who has stolen her ornaments, accepts from Maitreya, with a degree of nonchalance, a necklace said to be "worth a hundred thousand" as a compensation for the loss of a few ornaments which, she is told, have been lost by Chārudatta in gambling. Only in the concluding words of this Act is there any indication that the lovers meet once again : there Vasantasenā signifies her intention of taking the necklace back to Chārudatta, which, as the drama stands, remains merely an intention.

What should one think of a drama which ends in this fashion ? There is no unity in the plot. Nowhere does the action reach a climax, as it does, for instance, in the eighth Act of the *Mrichchhakatika*, in which Śākāra attempts to strangle the heroine, and, having all but killed her, leaves her lying in the royal park overcome by a heavy stupor, or in the ninth Act, where the virtuous Chārudatta is accused and convicted of the groundless charge of the murder of his own paramour. If, therefore, the *Chārudatta* is to be looked upon as a work worthy of the pen of the author of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana*, it must be assumed that the later Acts of the play which yet remain to be discovered complete with a worthy denouement that which was so well begun here.

It was mentioned above that the concluding words of Vasantasenā express her intention of going to Chārudatta with the precious necklace given by him as a compensation for her lost ornaments. The reader naturally wants to know what Vasantasenā is going to do and say when she meets her lover ; he is curious about the attitude of Chārudatta towards her, about any dramatic situation arising out of this, apparently limitless passion, things

which are far more important than all the interludes connected with Sajjalaka and Saṁvāhaka, which fill the second, third, and fourth Acts of the drama. Indeed, her acceptance of this priceless necklace would, by itself, be a puerile and reprehensible act and imply excessive meanness on her part. She says as much (p. 81) :

dhik-khu gaṇiābhāvaṁ | luddhatti maṁ tuḷaadi.*

(‘Alas, my being a courtesan ! He considers me avaricious.’)

She finds herself, however, on the horns of a dilemma, and therefore adds :

Jāi na paḍichchhe so evva doso bhavissadi.

(‘Should I not accept it, even then there will be trouble.’)

How she gets over the difficulty is a problem that surely cannot be left entirely to the ingenuity of the reader to solve, as Pandit Ganapati Sastri would have us believe. It may be added that the words of the Cheṭī (p. 86) :

edaṁ puṇa abhisāriāsahābhūdaṁ duddiṇaṁ uṇṇamidaṁ

(‘And now there is gathering an untimely storm, the ally of the woman going to meet her lover.’)

lead us to anticipate a development of the situation somewhat in the manner of the fifth Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* which anticipation, if the *Chārudatta* were to end with the fourth Act, would be frustrated.

One more point deserves to be mentioned here. The very last words of Vasantasenā, addressed to her maid, (p. 86):

hadāse mā hu vaḍḍhāvehi

(“Oh you stupid, don’t be so puffed up with pride.”)

may be taken to mean that she is not so very confident about the success of her mission, and to hint dimly at some complications about to be introduced. Indeed, the course of true love never runs smooth.

Let us for a moment turn to the three characters Śākāra, Sajjalaka, and Saṁvāhaka, and see what they have to tell us with regard to the point at issue.

In the first place, let us inquire for what purpose this figure of Śākāra, the brother-in-law of the King, was introduced into the play. Surely not merely for affording Vasantasenā the excuse for taking shelter in Chārudatta’s house ; for, that is the only purpose he now serves in the *Chārudatta*. If so, any ordinary swashbuckler would have served the author’s purpose equally well. Chārudatta’s rival need not have been a *rājaśyālaka*, who is not only a very important personage by virtue of his kinship with the king, but also one capable of much evil. Moreover, what about his dread threat (p. 24f) :

nāḍaāitthiā Vaśanchaseṇiā nāma . . . tava gehampaviṭṭhā sā suve

*Text *luddhatti*. In the text *na* is written for *na* and *la* for *la*, and intervocalic *ya* omitted in the Prakrit passages throughout,

niyyāāidavvā, mā dāva tava, a mama a dāluṇo khoho hoditti, vaḍua māḷisa idam cha, bhaṇāhi mā dāsieputta vārāvadagalappaviṭṭham via mūlakandaṃ śisakavāḷaṃ maḍamaḍāiṣṣam

("A dancing girl called Vasantasenā went into your house. See that you restore her to-morrow. Or else there will be a dreadful bust-up between you and me.' Manikin, my good sir, tell him this also: 'Or else, you son of a strumpet, I'll chew the skull of your head like a bulbous root caught in the gullet of a pigeon'.")

In the four Acts before us, we hear nothing more about this *dāluṇo khoho* ('dreadful bust-up') threatened by the *rājaśyālaka*. Was this threat then held out in vain? In the fourth and last Act, moreover, we are told that Śākāra sends his carriage to fetch Vasantasenā, which clearly indicates that his passion for her had not in the least abated. The indignant refusal of Vasantasenā very pertinently raises the curiosity of the reader to know what further steps Śākāra takes to press his suit and to gain possession of Vasantasenā's heart or at least of her person.

The second character alluded to above is Sajjalaka. This character does indeed serve to introduce a very amusing scene in the third Act, but his rôle cannot surely end there. Despite his profession, which he reluctantly pursues, he has noble instincts; and one does feel that he ought to step in once again in order to repay the deep obligation under which he is laid in consequence of the magnanimity of Vasantasenā not only in overlooking the theft of her ornaments (for which she had, in truth, reason to be thankful), but also in emancipating of her own accord her slave-girl and his sweet-heart, and thus fulfilling Sajjalaka's heart's desire. It is true that neither manuscript of the *Chārudatta*, which we have before us, contains any reference to the Āryaka and Pālaka of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* whose names are introduced for the first time in the fourth Act of that play in the interlude immediately following upon the interview of Śarvilaka (the Sajjalaka of the *Chārudatta*) with Vasantasenā. But these characters are not essential to the main love story. And we can only surmise that if these individuals were not introduced by Bhāsa at a later stage of the drama, he must have made Sajjalaka show his gratitude to Vasantasenā in a way different from the one in which Śarvilaka shows it in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*. But his words (p. 85): *bhoḥ kadā khaṭv asyāḥ pratikartavyaṃ bhaviṣyati* ('Oh, when shall I be able to repay her!') lead us emphatically to anticipate his re-entry later in the course of the play.

Thirdly and lastly, Samvāhaka has likewise been placed under an obligation by Vasantasenā, and in the *Chārudatta* he leaves her presence almost

without saying a word of thanks in return. It is, therefore, to be expected that he returns once more to pay off his debt of gratitude to the heroine; and, I am persuaded that the words of Vasantasenā (p. 44): *gachchhadu ajjo*³ *punodamisaṇṇā* ('Go, Sir, au revoir!') contain a distinct indication of the intention of the author to reintroduce the character at a later stage of the drama.

I believe these facts justify us in concluding that our *Chārudatta* is only a fragment. Whether the drama was in point of fact ever completed, or whether its author left it in a fragmentary condition are questions which cannot be decided from the material at hand. The above facts entitle us only to conclude that the story is 'to be continued.' It is incredible that the denouement of the love episode which is the essence of the plot of the *Chārudatta*, the central point around which all the incidents ought to be grouped, should find no place in a play which is replete with many delicate touches, and which, but for this blemish, bears the unmistakable stamp of being the product of a master mind.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the chief motifs which are necessary to complete the dramatic episode, and which are indispensable in the drama are the following: rendezvous of Vasantasenā and *Chārudatta*: *Chārudatta*'s being falsely accused of a crime committed by some one else (presumably *Śākara*) as foreshadowed in his melancholy reflection (p. 10):

pāpaṃ karma cha yat parair api kṛitaṃ tat tasya sambhāvyate :

('And sinful deeds that others do are counted to him also.')

is a vindication of *Chārudatta*'s character; final union of Vasantasenā and *Chārudatta*. We know these incidents have been treated by *Śūdraka*, but we must await another fortunate discovery which will reveal to us how these self-same motifs were handled by *Bhāsa*, and how the denouement was worked out by him.

3, Text *ayyo*. See Pishel, *Grammatikder Prakrit-Sprachen*, para 284.

THE NOMADS IN INDIA.

(A Study of Turkish rule in India.)

BY PROF. M. RATHNASWAMY, MADRAS.

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1. Akbar the Great Mogul—by Vincent A. Smith—Oxford—1917.
 2. When Kings rode to Delhi—by Gabrielle Festing, Edinburgh—1912.
 3. Mediæval India under Mahomedan rule—by Stanley Lane poole, London.—1906.
 4. History of India—Elphinstone—London.
 5. History of India as told by its own historians—Elliott and Dowson, London. 1866-1877.

ONE of the saddest experiences of even a few years spent in education is the conviction which comes soon or late that so much of human knowledge is found to be a stumbling block and a weariness of the flesh. History, Law, Art, Foreign Literature, as they are generally taught, seem to be, even to the honest student, nothing more than a task to be got up and a duty to be done. History, it seems, is a mere list of dates and dynasties, foreign literature is a lesson, not a pleasure, and books on Art are generally precious discussions of technical Dead Sea fruit. These studies, which on account of their human appeal, ought to interest the young more than any other, fail to attract and hold their enthusiasm. Apart from the evil of ill-composed books, in which these subjects may be presented, there seems to be something in the point of view from which they are treated, something in the perspective which is given to them, that prevents them from catching and keeping the attention of the reader. Very many handbooks of History, Art and Law are written as if these subjects arose out of themselves and had a life of their own, as if the Law, History and Art of a country had nothing to do with the country itself. Facts and events are in all conscience uninteresting in themselves. To make them interesting we must relate them to life and show how they proceed from and affect life,

If we want to make historical or legal facts and events interesting we must labour to establish a point of contact between these sets of facts and the life to which they belong. Unless we aim at doing this, History and Law and Art will continue to be subjects for examinations and students and nothing more. The fount and origin of the unpopularity of these eminently human subjects seems to be that they are treated as if they had no connection with Life. After all the history of a country or a nation is the history of the life of that country or nation. The art of a people proceeds from the intellectual and spiritual life of that people. Law after all, is an expression of life. And to write about these things without any reference to the life which is

their cause and condition, to speak of these manifestations of life, as if they could be explained by themselves, seems to be a beating of the air, a mere making of words. Not to show the intimate connection between the various expressions of life and life itself is to treat them from an absolutely wrong point of view, or rather from no point of view whatsoever. It is to empty facts and events of their reason, their meaning and, therefore, of their interest.

Nowhere has this insufficient and unphilosophic method of historical writing had sadder and more deplorable results than in regard to Indian History. It is only a strong sense of duty or a more than ordinary fill of patriotism that could induce anyone to read one or other of the existing manuals of Indian history. Even such excellent writers as Elphinstone and Lane poole, in spite of the ease and attractiveness of their style, fail to hold our attention and interest for long. The history of Hindu and Mahomedan India seems to be in the pages of most of our historians nothing but a deadly dull account of Amurath succeeding Amurath. It is only by taking long leaps and by fastening on the romantic and the picturesque that a writer like Gabrielle Festing has been able to write a fascinating account of the Mahomedan period of Indian History. But charming as her account of "When Kings rode to Delhi" is, it can hardly be called history. There are too many gaps, there is too great a concentration on extraordinary episodes. Apart from romantic histories, the ordinary, orthodox handbook of Indian History, suffers from the twin defects of dullness and monotony. It is not merely the monotony of the major portion of Indian History, it is not merely the lifeless similarity of one dynasty to another that is at the bottom of this evil. Monotony or sameness may be made interesting if they could be explained. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin and we shall always be interested in the fortunes, even the monotonous fortunes of the most unprogressive race of men. It is not the matter of ancient Indian History so much as the manner in which it is represented that makes it so unattractive. The besetting sin of most histories of India is that they seem to be written under the unavowed conviction that Indian History is like the history of any country in the West. In histories of England, for instance, we have accounts of successive kings and dynasties. Therefore we must have accounts of successive kings and dynasties in Indian History, scrupulously following each other in strict chronological sequence as if according to some sacred ritual. We do not stop to enquire whether the reason which justifies this manner of history-writing—the progress or at any rate difference between one king and his successor, between one dynasty and its successor—does or does not obtain in ancient Indian history. We seem not

to suspect that the histories of countries must be different because countries themselves differ from each other. Never shall we be able to do justice to Indian history, we shall never write or read Indian history, as it ought to be read and written, unless we think of it in connection with Indian life. Indian history must be written in terms of Indian life.

It is with the conviction that the history and life of a people are dependent on each other and can be explained only by each other that the present writer approaches the study of one of the most important periods of Indian history, that which has so far been popularly labelled as the "Mahomedan Period". To understand the rule of the Mahomedans in India, a rule which extended roughly from 1000 to 1,800 A.D., to understand their success and their failure, their rise and their fall, the character and value of the service which they rendered to the country they invaded, and ruled for so long, we must know, first of all, what kind of people these rulers of India were. What was the character and degree of their civilization and culture, when they came into India? Were they savages, or civilized? Were they an agricultural or a pastoral people? Were they a people driven by the Dæmon of progress or were they satisfied with the ideal of a moderate and permanent ease? Were they a people easily open to new ideas and quickly receiving the impress of new surroundings, or from pride or stolidity, were they afraid and jealous of the new and the strange? These are questions that must be answered on the threshold of any study of the Mahomedan Rule in India. Not till we allocate to the Mahomedan conquerors of India, their place in the history of civilization and culture, not till we know their characteristics—thoughts that voluntarily moved them, their attitude to life and the world—not till then shall we be able to estimate their rule and their achievements aright. Not till we know them shall we understand them.

What then, were the Mahomedan rulers of India? We have already given a partial answer to our question in calling them Mahomedans. But that is only a part of the answer. They were not only Mahomedans by religion, they were something else. To call them Mahomedans will not explain them. For, Mahomedanism although it influenced their civilization and life, will not account for everything in it. We must therefore find out what the Mahomedan rulers of India were by race, civilization and culture, apart from what they were on account of the religion which as a people we see them professing when they came to India. To what kind and degree of civilization then did they belong? Not to speak of the Arabs who invaded Sind in 712 A.D., and who have left little or no traces of their rule over that part of India we find that all the other Mahomedan invaders of India were either Turks or Afghans by race, mainly the former. Mahmud of Ghazni and his soldiers

immortalised by the period of Gibbon, were all Turks. So were the Slave kings who held Northern India almost throughout the thirteenth century, the House of Taglak (1321-1414) as well as and especially the Dynasty of the Great Mogul (1526-1857). For comparatively shorter periods of time, the representatives of Mahomedan rule in India were the Afghan dynasties of the Khiljis (1290-1314) who came between the Slave kings and the Taglaks, the native dynasty of the Sayyids (1414-1451), again the Afghan dynasties of the Lodis (1451-1526) from the last of whom Babar wrested the rule of Delhi, and of the House of Sher Shah (1539-1556) the rival and the exemplar of the greatest of the Great Moguls. But it was the Turk that predominated. An eloquent testimony to the fact that Moslem rule in India was mainly Turkish is that in South Indian languages, Turk denotes Mahomedan (*Toolkhān* in Tamil, *Toorkodu* in Telugu.) But Turks or Afghans, the Mahomedan rulers of India, all belonged to the same kind and degree of civilization. Whatever their race, whenever and however they came to India, to whatever dynasty they belonged, the Mahomedan rulers of India in matters of Government, social life and culture were one and the same. Similar political arrangements, a similar social economy, added to a common religion, impart a unity to the Mahomedan period which divisions of race or dynasty cannot impair. Slave or Taglak, Afghan or Mogul, their rule as we shall see was characterised by the same ideals, the same practice, the same achievements and the same shortcomings. And for the valid reason, that in civilization and culture they were akin to each other.

What then were the Mahomedan conquerors of India according to their civilization and culture? The answer is they were Nomads. Their civilization and culture, their political and military organization, their Law, their family and social life, all betoken the nomadic stage of history. As we know the Turkish invaders of India, either in the monumental pages of Elliott and Dowson or in the naive biography of Babar, they live the free wandering life of the nomadic conquerors galloping on their sturdy Turkoman horses from plain to plain, sacking cities and overturning governments, either of their own race or of another. They seem to be always on the move. They do indeed live in cities but never for long. Samarcand and Bokhara and Kabul, if not founded, were beautified by them, but it was more with artisans from Damascus or Delhi. Cities were to them mere places of refuge and wintering quarters than the seats of their hearths and homes. Like the Germans of Tacitus' time they seem to have felt the city too confined for their animal love of freedom. The camp, the tent, was the home of their predilection. They were divided into clans or tribes and their political organization resembled the clan organization of other nomads like the Kurds, the Albanians, and

the Highlanders of Scotland. A "State of Nature", which should have delighted the heart of Hobbes or of Rousseau, brought about a survival of the fittest. The Turkish followers of the father of Mahomad of Ghazni, asserted their ascendancy over the Afghan tribes round about Ghazna, and in a later time, out of a welter of Usbeks, Chaghatais and Afghans, Babar carved a sovereignty for himself which travelled with him and his followers wherever they went, from Ferghana in Transoxiana to Kabul in Afghanistan. The government of these Turkish or Afghan conquerors of India on the eve of their conquest was well adapted to the work which it had to do. It was the despotism of the leader tempered by the necessity in war of consulting the chiefs of the tribe or clans that elected to follow his fortunes, and by the amenities in peace of a union based more on the *bonne camaraderie* of equals than on the centralisation of a disciplined rule. In such conditions of Government the race being always to the swift and the battle to the strong, it was no wonder that every succession to the throne or rather leadership was disputed. Mahomad of Ghazni deprived his younger brother Ismail of the patrimony of land which by a kind of Borough English had been given him by their father, and Mahomad's own sons, Mahomud and Masoud, fell to quarrelling with each other about the succession to their father's empire. Much of Babar's time and energy were given to meeting and trying to defeat the pretensions of his brothers Jahangir Mirza and Nasir Mirza. The deplorable practice of giving each son an appanage or two of the father's kingdom made of the latter a prize always to be won but never won outright. The restless movement of the nomad is nowhere better represented than in his army which is mainly composed of cavalry. The men that conquered under Babar and Mahomad of Ghori as well as the invading armies of Ghazni were mainly horsemen. The horse is dear to the nomad—even unto the eating of his flesh, and Babar records meals of horse meat, as a mere matter of course.

Not only in matters of government but in family and social life, we find the characteristics of nomadic civilisation among the Turkish invaders of India. Like that of most nomads their family life was based upon polygamy. They had the nomad's contempt for agriculture and for the slow, laborious and unexciting means of acquiring property. Outside the profession of arms, the occupation they favoured with their service was the nomadic one of trade. Carrying commodities from one country to another in caravans gave them the movement and change of scene which their hearts desired. It was the native, more settled peasants of the countries they conquered like the Tajiks of Persia or Afghanistan or the Sartes of Central Asia that supplied them with food and drink. Their laws were more or less a Code of club Law except

in so far as the civilising influences of Islam came to modify it. Retaliations for crimes by blood relations were allowed in Babar's time. "Ambition" says Erskine, "sanctioned every degree of treachery and deceit even towards their nearest relatives." Cattle driving was a sport.

As with the Turks, so it was with the Afghan conquerors of India, like the Ghorides, the Sayyads and the Lodis. Then as now, the Afghans tended cattle and fought when they had not to feed their flocks. Agriculture, manufactures and industry, were in the hands of Persians, Armenians, or Hindus. They were filled with a love of free movement and were fond of changing their boundaries. House against house, and village, they were what De Sacy says of their descendants "incapable of the discipline of Law and settled government and always on a warlike footing with their neighbours." As an Afghan is reported to have told Elphinstone, "disunion, unrest, and bloodshed are natural to them and they would never acknowledge a master."

Thus, whether Turks or Afghans, and however they might differ from each other in race and language, the Mahomedan conquerors of India were Nomads. Of course there are nomads and nomads. There are gradations between, for instance, the Mongol, the Afghan and the Turk. But in all that constitutes the difference between the Nomadic and the settled State—political restlessness, dislike for agriculture and hatred of discipline, they each of them, in varying degrees, had the root of the matter in them. Historians have often wondered how the word Mogul, which Babar as all true Turks hated, has come to be applied to the Empire in India founded and ruled by people of Turkish descent. But it would seem as if the rarely erring instinct of Tradition has fastened upon the Turkish rulers of India a title which would prevent them or their admirers from ever attempting to renounce their nomadic identity.

Nomads were the Mahomedan conquerors of India, and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country. Now on a moderate scale, now overwhelmingly, at other times, battling with opposing influences, it is always there, dogging, dogging, so to speak, the footsteps of people who could not get rid of it. Through change of fortunes and dynasties, throughout their history, nomadism was the characteristic of the Turkish and Afghan Rule. It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.

Theory of Invasion.

Right at the very threshold of their Indian rule, the Mahomedan invaders of India reveal the dominating characteristic of their race and civilisation. The nomad's theory of invasion, as the rest of his outlook, is very naive and simple. The complex motives of a civilised nation do not disturb him. The hypocrisy of the modern Foreign Minister, with his appeals to national honour, the defence of Civilisation or Christendom, to the need for self-expression and expansion, is absolutely foreign to him. He has no need of it. The nomad feels he must move on to new countries and he moves on. No thoughts of scientific boundaries or of the rectification of frontiers, of imperial expansion or of the necessities of commercial growth occur to him. He does not wait for population to press upon the soil. The necessities of nomadic subsistence, the want of agricultural occupations, the absence of the ties of home and country, drive the nomad to invasion for invasion's sake. Alaric the Goth, as he spread his ravages from city to city in Italy, is said to have confessed that it was the promptings of a Spirit that moved him on towards Rome. The pious Christian of those days might interpret this as the spirit of God directing the footsteps of the terrible conqueror towards the seat of God's representative on earth. But a sufficient explanation of Alaric's repeated invasions of Italy is to be found in the restlessness of the nomadic invader. "God has meant us to destroy the earth from the beginning to the end" was the reply of the Mongol, Khan Kuyuk, to an embassy praying for peace sent by Pope Clement IV. in the thirteenth century. And Gibbon has told us how Chengiz Khan's spirit of conquest breathed in the law that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy.

Like the Huns and the Mongols, the Afghan and Turkish invaders of India showed themselves as nomads in nothing so much as in the motives that prompted their invasions. It was love of plunder and booty or the overflowing energies of a people untamed by the arts of peace and industry, or simply the lust of conquest that inspired the Mahomedan invasions of India. Some modern historians, indeed, deceived by the *obiter dicta* and the afterthoughts of the chroniclers have attempted to picture these invasions, especially those of Mahomad of Ghazni, as being undertaken for the sacred cause of Islam. But if we observe the character of these invaders and the course of their invasions we shall see that they were directed by more secular and vulgar motives. "Sabaktagin," says Al'Utbi, "made frequent expeditons in the prosecution of holy wars (a mere tag) and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills, in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession and captured cities in Ind." The same desire for booty seems to be the dominating

impulse of Mahomad's invasions. The expeditions of Mahomed, with the sacking of cities and the plundering of temples, the retreats as rapid as the invasions as soon as a fair booty had been got, resemble nothing so much, in spite of the glamour, Gibbon has thrown over them, as the raids of a robber chief. The real character of Mahomad seems to be mirrored for us in the scene which the chronicler Al'Utbi tells us took place on Mahomad's return from the capture of Bhimnagar in 1009, at which Mahomad himself took charge of the jewels, that fell into the hands of the captors. "The Sultan" he says "appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it. After this, he returned to Ghazna in triumph, and, on his arrival there, he ordered the courtyard of his palace to be covered with a carpet on which he displayed jewels, unboiled pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates." The familiar anecdotes related of him of the gamester who treated him as his partner, of the shabby treatment he meted to Firdausi, of his weeping on his deathbed at the thought of having to part with his wealth, only serve to confirm the impression found in the chronicles that Mahomed's invasions were plundering raids rather than permanent conquests. This simple and elementary theory of invasion was shared also by Mahomed's successors who unlike him, settled in India. Allaudin, when governor of Oudh and Badaun, heard that the "Rai of Hind whose capital was Deogir, had immense treasures in money and jewels, and he therefore conceived an intense desire to secure them for himself and conquer the country. Allaudin, having laden all the beasts he could procure with his spoils, and giving thanks to God returned to his own province". At the sack of Warangal in 1310, Malik Kafur demanded everything that the Rajah's country produced from vegetables to mines and minerals. The Malik took the entire wealth of the Rai, to quote the narrative of the famous poet-chronicler Amir Khusuru, which was brought, and threatened a general massacre if it should be found that the Rai had reserved anything for himself; he left Warangal with all his booty, and a thousand camels groaned under the weight of the treasures; and after his arrival at Delhi in an assembly of chiefs and nobles, the plunder was presented and the Malik duly honoured. The thought of raid or conquest seemed to be the *idée fixe* of the Mahomedan rulers of India. The comparative inactivity of Sultan Balban (1266-1287) led his nobles to express their wonder how with his well-equipped and disciplined army he had not undertaken any distant campaign and had never moved out of his territory to conquer new regions. The reply of Balban was as characteristic as the question. "In the reigns of my patrons and predecessors " he said " there was none of this difficulty of

the Mughal invasions : they could lead their armies where they pleased, subdue the dominions of the Hindus and carry off gold and treasures. If my anxiety (caused by the Mughals) were removed, I would not stay one day in my capital but would lead forth my army to capture treasures and valuables, elephants and horses, and would never allow the Rais and the Ranas to repose in quiet at a distance." Thus it was not with a view to permanent settlement, possession, and rule, but for the fun of invading, for the sake of plundering, to satisfy their lust for treasure and valuables that the Turks began and continued the invasion of India.

It was the same with the greatest of the Mahomedan invaders of India, the Mughals. It was not because Babar's independence was threatened by any Indian chief, nor for the sake of acquiring a good frontier, nor again in order to strengthen his rule in Kabul that he invaded India. He did not wait till he had organised his new conquest. While still a newcomer in Kabul, he had heard from an old woman stories of the wealth and commerce of Hindustan. As soon as he found out from Allaudin Lodi, who came with an invitation which though opportune was not needed, that the invasion of the country would be an easy matter, he at once set about it. No cause given, no offence taken, with no references to the glory of Islam or the breaking down of idolatry, without any appeal to any political motives, Zahirudin Mahomad Babar, put his foot into the stirrup of resolution, to make use of his own picturesque phrase, and invaded the country which was to be the last stage in the long and chequered course of his eventful wanderings. The noble Babar was not above thoughts of plunder and booty. He conceives the invasion of Bahrah on the borders of Hindustan as it was near at hand, because if he were to push on without baggage his soldiers might light upon some booty; and as a matter of fact, on the invasion of Bahrah he agrees with the headmen of the place to accept the sum of 4,00,000 Shahrafis as the ransom of their property. Even the great Akbar, as Mr. Vincent Smith admits, was ever possessed with a craving for the conquest of new territory. Conquests for the sake of plunder were not infrequent in his reign. The flourishing territory of Garha Katanka belonging to the beautiful Durgavati excited the greed of Akbar, and was invaded and plundered, simply because Akbar had heard of the wealth and prosperity of the country. It had had as many as 70,000 flourishing villages and he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter. How politically purposeless were many of the invasions of the Mahomedan rulers of India is shown by the senseless, because unnecessary, attempts at conquest of distant and inaccessible countries. Mahomed Taghlak, indeed, has been branded with an unenviable notoriety for his invasion of Tibet and his design of invading China. But even level headed Emperors

like Shah Jahan and Aurungzib frittered energies, which they ought to have conserved, in useless raids into Tibet, Balkh or Badakshan. It was indeed a *Drang nach Osten* which precipitated the Turks into India. But with them it was more an animal instinct than anything else. It was not the reasoned out and well-planned policy, based upon political motives, which has driven States like Austria Hungary and Russia eastwards and into an Eastern Question.

International Law and Morality

In keeping with their principles of invasion were their treatment of the conquered on the battle field. Many of the greatest of the Mahomedan conquerors have been guilty of what would now a days be called a policy of frightfulness. Babar more than once confesses in his Memoirs to having put all the garrison of a captured fort or town to the sword. Sher Shah and Akbar did not scruple to ravage and lay waste the country of occupation. At least once Sher Shah ordered all the boys of a defeated enemy to be castrated and the girls to be brought up as dancing girls or prostitutes. Pyramids of skulls in the manner of Tamerlane were raised by Akbar as well as Babar. In the wars of the latter in Afghanistan and India, prisoners of war were often butchered in cold blood after the action. Slavery of women and children as a consequence of the fortunes of war flourished till Akbar made a noble attempt to put it down. Ferishta relates that it was, thanks to the representations of the Hindu ambassadors from Vijayanagar, that Mahomad Shah Bahamani agreed to spare the lives of prisoners of war, a stipulation however which was soon broken. Although the Turkish invaders of India were superior in civilisation to the Mongols of Chengiz Khan and Timur, yet it must be confessed that in their conduct towards the defeated in battle there was very little to choose between the two.

The Army.

The end determines the means; the work, the instruments and the Turkish theory of invasion, prepare us for the nature and description of the instruments of that invasion. The armies of the Mahomedan invaders of India were a natural consequence of, and finely shaped to realize, the objects of their invasions. By the very nature of the work they had to do, the Turkish armies, like those of other nomads, were organised for one thing above all others, namely to move rapidly and to strike rapidly. The nomad army is an army of invasion rather than of occupation. It must be able to move speedily, strike quickly, cover the largest space of country in the shortest period of time, rush to its objective and rush back to its base before a determined or prolonged opposition. The nomad has neither the patience nor the will necessary for prolonged warfare. He wants a decision at once and

accepts the first reverse as quietly and complacently as he would like victory to fall into his lap at the first shaking. The military needs of the nomads therefore decide that the predominant part of their armies shall be the cavalry. The nomad fights mostly on horseback. It was on horseback that the Avars, the Huns, and the Magyars invaded Europe, and it was on horseback that the Turkish and Afghan hordes burst through the north-west passes into the plains of India. In a strictly literal sense, the Mahomedans rode into empire in India.

The armies, that were the instruments of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasions were mainly cavalry. In the first invasion it was 15,000, on the ninth expedition it was 1,00,000 horse helped by 10,000 infantry, and on the last expedition Mahmud set out with 20,000 camels and 30,000 horse through the deserts of Sind. On few or no occasions do the chroniclers of his invasions make mention of the infantry for the simple reason that there was none. Like the Huns who could sleep on their horses, Mahmud's warriors, so Al Utbi tells us, found their greatest pleasure in the saddle which they looked upon as a throne. In the military organisation of Mahmud's successors also, it was the cavalry arm that predominated. Sher Shah's army consisted of 1,50,000 horse and only 25,000 footmen. In a speech which he made once to his soldiers he speaks of the Bengal cavalry being deprived of the support of the artillery and of the infantry, as if, as indeed it was, the cavalry was the central and main part of his army. Babar's troops also were mostly cavalry and it was so in the armies of the great Moguls after him. Most of Akbar's battles were cavalry actions. Bernier in his letter to Colbert puts the army raised by the mansubdar system at 3,00,000 horsemen, the infantry being of little account. According to Manucci, Aurungzib ordinarily kept fifty thousand horse in garrison, besides an almost equal number of those in movement everyday. What a large and important place the cavalry filled in the military organisation of the Mogul is seen in the fact that the very ranks and orders of the Mogul nobility were determined by the number of horse a man was put in command of. The famous mansubdars of the Mogul Court, who resemble in position and origin the myriarchs and chiliarchs of ancient Persia, were commanders of horse, the highest rank of this dignity carrying with it the command of 10,000 or 12,000 horse. Some of the most influential officials around the Mogul Emperors were those in charge of the horse of the Empire or of the State. The Atbegi entrusted with the care of all horses belonging to the government was, in Akbar's time, one of the highest officers of the State and was always a grandee of great rank. The Amir-al-Akbar, the Superintendent of the stables, and the Master of the Hunt were important officials at the Mogul Court. The horse, like the elephant, has been called a political

animal not, in the Aristotelian sense, but in the sense that it fills a large place in the lives of certain peoples and determines the nature of the most important part of their public life. It being so necessary to the peripatetic life of the nomad it is no wonder that its influence is felt in his military organisation. The horse is of the greatest strategic and tactical importance to the nomad. The horse in fact makes the nomad army. It was no idle metaphor that Babar was using but one that sprang to his pen from his life when he records his resolution to invade India in these words: I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the rein of confidence in God and marched against Sultan Ibrahim.

To say that the armies of the Mahomedan rulers of India were mainly cavalry is not to say that they were wholly so. They relied on other arms besides the cavalry. But these held a subordinate position. They were meant as Sher Shah tells us, to support the cavalry and not to be supported by it. The infantry was generally smaller in numbers than the cavalry. The large numbers of foot soldiers recorded in some of the authorities were considered by the European travellers of the time to have been composed mainly of the camp followers and the sutlers and the miscellaneous rabble that generally followed a Mogul army. And it is possible that the observation of Manucci that the infantry of Aurungzib's army, 20,000 in number, was made up entirely of Rajputs, would be true of other Sultans and other reigns. Just as the Sultans of Turkey relied for the infantry of their army on recruiting from their Christian subjects who formed the famous Janissaries, so it is possible that in India also the Mahomedan emperors relied upon their Hindu feudatories to furnish them with their infantry. Not merely in numbers but in prestige was the Mogul infantry considered to be the inferior arm. The foot soldiers received the smallest pay of all. They were generally recruited from the more or less despised subject population. The infantry was poorly equipped and badly served. As late as Bernier's time, the muskets of the foot soldiers were made to rest on forks and fired by men who squatted on the ground and who were afraid of their eyebrows and beards being damaged by the flash. The Mahomedan armies especially in the days of the Moguls could also boast of some artillery. It is doubtful whether the guns which Babar is said to have used at the Battle of Paniput were cannon or, as M. Pavet de Courteille would have it, chariots tied together in a manner much affected by nomadic armies like those of the Huns and the Turks. Humayun is reported to have had seven hundred guns discharging stone balls of the weight of five pounds and twenty one discharging brass balls ten times as heavy as the others. Aurungzib, it is said, at one time transported as many as seventy pieces of heavy artillery and two hundred to three hundred swivel

guns mounted on the backs of animals. There was also a light artillery called the artillery of the stirrup, because it was always near the Emperor and composed of ten pieces in bronze, well-mounted on small carts and well-limbered. For the defence of fortresses and for siege operations some of the Mogul Emperors had a few enormous guns which are said to have required for transport two hundred and fifty to five hundred oxen apiece. The gunners, in the service of the Moguls were mostly Portuguese or other Christians just as the engineers of Chengiz Khan were mainly Chinese. The artillery was an adopted weapon as the infantry was a subordinate one. But the weakest part of the Mahomedan army was its commissariat. Although it is only of late that the military importance of the commissariat and the truth of the saying an army moves on its stomach has been realised, yet even for those times the commissariat of the Turkish armies in India was in a woeful condition. The nomad is a being who lives from hand to mouth and the nomadic army trusts to chance for its provisioning. It depends on the plunder of flourishing villages or cities to feed its soldiers and its horses. Many times we meet this doleful sentence in the chronicles, "provisions became very scarce and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction." During Aurungzib's campaigns in the Dekhan, it often happened that grain became scarce, horses and camels dropped dead and greatest of woes, the nobles were forced to walk. On one occasion, Mir Jumla's army was reduced to eating horses' flesh. Even in the more settled times of Jahangir and Akbar we hear of the same complaint of the giving out of provisions and provender in the royal camp.

But the weakness and looseness of their commissariat is only a sample of the whole military organisation of the Turks in India. They indeed kept standing armies stationed as in ancient Persia in the various provinces. But neither the recruiting nor the equipment of the army was ever organised or regular. Apart from the auxiliary forces who were brought by the feudatory Rajahs, some of the soldiers were hired in a haphazard manner by the Sultan himself and supplied with mounts by the General Government. But the major portion was supplied by the jagirdars and mansubdars according to the terms of their tenure of land or service. The latter however were not a source always to be depended on. The number of mounted horsemen supplied in this manner was invariably less than the established quota and Akbar made a gallant attempt by having every man's features and person described on the muster roll and by a system of branding the horses to put an end to a habit of fraudulent substitution which was one of the crying drawbacks of the Mogul Army. The payment of the soldiers was as irregular as their equipment. At first the Mahomedan soldiers must have been paid in money, the

leaders, probably being assigned lands. But Allaudin Khilji was afraid that grants of land would tend to establish the independence of his lieutenants. This wise fear of Allaudin did not influence the policy of all the Sultans of Delhi. Feruz Shah Taglak paid his soldiers in land instead of money. The prudent reform of Allaudin was partially revived in a later time by Akbar. But any system, however evil, would be a mercy, compared to no system. And the scandal of irregular payment was rather frequent even in the days of the best of the Moghuls. The generals and other officers observed no fixed rules in paying their soldiers: to some they would give twenty or thirty rupees, to others forty, fifty, or a hundred. And sometimes, even the Sultan's soldiers were foisted off with clothes, new or old, from the palace, in lieu of payment of arrears. As for the equipment of these soldiers, it was probably various like that of the "Austrian army which was awfully arrayed." Each Mansabdar or Jagirdar must have dressed up his men in his own way and given them arms of his own choosing. The auxiliaries, supplied by the Rajputs and other feudatories, must have increased the miscellaneous appearance of the armies of the Delhi Sultan. So that a picturesque variety rather than a dull uniformity was the feature of the Mogul army that first arrested the attention of the contemporary traveller.

The officering of the Mahomedan armies was just as loose as the rest of their organization. The Sultan, or his substitute, appointed by him, was the commander-in-chief of the forces in the field. But when the Sultan was not in command, the loyal co-operation of the various troop commanders depended not so much on the needs of military obedience as on the character, ability or influence of the chief in command. The soldiers owed allegiance not so much to the Sultan or the state as to their immediate commander. A degree of autonomous action was allowed to subordinate officers which was ruinous to military discipline and accounts for many of the defects of Mahomedan armies and not less for many of their useless victories.

As crude and as elementary as the organisation of the Mahomedan armies was also their conduct of battle. The nomad army, we have said, wants to move rapidly and to obtain a quick decision. The first desire determines the composition of the army, the second the nature of their military art. The tactics of the armies of the Mahomedans in India were of the simplest nature. The preponderance of cavalry determined the conduct of a battle. An open country was absolutely necessary for a successful action, for, without this their cavalry could not deploy freely. Even ground covered with thick shrubs, and small hills and ravines, not to speak of mountainous regions, floored the Mogul army. The nimble and exiguous Mahratta troops did pretty much what they liked with the elaborate armies of Aurungzib. The

Turkish armies, in which the cavalry predominated as we have seen, were generally divided into a left wing, a right wing and a centre. The artillery when there was one, was placed in front unlike the engines in the Roman army which were placed at the back of all. To the rear of the army were placed the baggage and the women. When the battles had been set in array the action would begin by the engines or guns belching forth their projectiles. The firing of guns was never very rapid, at the most, one every three hours and Babar confesses to having shot only eight or sixteen projectiles in the course of a whole day. Owing to the slowness of the draught oxen, the artillery seldom took a prolonged part in the battle and in case of defeat the guns were rarely saved. As soon as the guns had been silenced, the cavalry came into action. Either the left or the right wing of the army flung itself on the corresponding part of the enemy's forces till the centre of one of them was crushed and victory and defeat was the matter at the most of a day, very often of a few hours. Most of the battles fought by the Mahomedans were won or lost as one chronicler puts it "in the twinkling of an eye." Victory or defeat was rarely doubtful which is not the case when armies are determined on disputing every inch of ground and on never giving up hopes of retrieving a battle. Whatever the chances of war they must materialize early. In the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni before the terrible elan of a soldiery thirsting for the jewels, and slaves of Hind, the armies and fortresses of the Hindus fell like nine pins. The famous assault on the well fortified temple of Somnath was a matter of three days and the battle at the Gates which settled the fate of the temple was won within the space of a few hours. In Mahmud Ghazni's first encounter with the Rajputs under Prithvi Raja at Tarai near Thaneshwar, his own rash charge at the elephant of the Rajah's brother nearly cost him his life and his retirement and altogether lost him the battle. With the scattering of the advance guard of the Delhi Sultan by a clever flanking movement of Timur at the battle of Delhi (1398) the left wing collapsed and although the centre held out for some time, it was not long before it also bent to the storm of Timur's attack. The first battle of Paniput (1526) which gave Babar the Delhi throne was decided between the dawn and noon of a single day. An attack by the army of the Lodi on Babar's right, hesitation on its part at the hurdles and obstacles in its way, confusion in its midst on account of the pressure of its own men from behind, Baber's flankers galloping out and surrounding them on all sides, his gunners gaily adding to the embarrassment of the confusion, the enemy soon becomes engaged on all sides and is forced back upon its centre and unable to withstand the charges of the Mogul cavalry, breaks and flees for dear life. It was the same with the other decisive battles fought at

Paniput, the last of which when it came to the scratch, after three months of weary watching was settled by the end of one day in spite of the Rohillas and others bending before the Mahratta attack with the heavy and victorious charge of Afghan horse. Even in their cavalry charges, there was an absence of sympathy and coordination between the parts of the army, which made their battles shorter than the battles between disciplined forces. At the battle of Jullandhar (1297) between the Mogul hordes and Allaudin's forces the victorious defeat and pursuit of the enemy by the right wing under Zafar Khan was nullified by the jealousy of Ulugh Khan who refused to support him with the left wing. With the blinding shot that pierced the eye of Hemu the leader of the Afghan army at the second battle of Paniput (1556) the fortunes of the day went to the young Akbar. And Dara the elder son of Shah Jahan lost the battle of Shamgarh and his claims to the throne by foolishly descending from his point of vantage on the back of his elephant, at the very moment when the luck of the battle was with him. The main objective of the cavalry charges as of the whole battle was the elephant of the enemy's leader and with the killing or flight of the commander, ended the battle in victory for the other army. Nomad armies have been described as bolts shot at a venture and the unsteadiness of the nomad is seen in the complaisance and the readiness with which he yields to the slightest reverse to his arms. In keeping with the Mogul's elementary notions of warfare was his inability to reduce a fortress except by the crude method of surrounding the beleaguered place, completely obstructing the communications and starving the people besieged into submission. Captures by a *coup de main*, by the breaking of the walls, or by escalades were too much for them. In the time of Aurungzib, if we hear more of assaults and escalades it was probably because engineers from the west, Christians or Mahomedans from Roum, were to be found in the Mogul Army. Indeed however numerous, however elaborately equipped, however luxurious in their camps, the armies of the Mahomedan rulers of India might have been, their military art was of the crudest kind. Crude and primitive also was the habit of the commanders carrying their women with them on their campaigns. The nomad carries his home and his wives on his wanderings with him. In the armies of Attila as in the army of Babar and of Timur, the wives of the soldiers and the commanders filled a large place and were put at the rear of the army with the baggage. Even when the Mohamedan rulers settled in their capitals at Delhi or Agra they invariably carried their wives with them and their armies. It could not be mere sensuality or uxoriousness, because the best as well as the worst did it—the clear-headed Sher Shah, the wise Akbar, the ascetic Aurungzib as well as the ordinary run of the Delhi Sultans. The Mogul Padshah when he carried his zenana with him on his

marches was only continuing the practice of his fathers, for which however there was no reason now that he had a settled capital in the country. It was not only on short campaigns that the Padshah took his zenana with him. Once in the Dekhan and Mahratta wars, Aurungzib's daughter and the other princesses complained to him that it was then thirty years nearly since they had left the court of Delhi and all that time they had been on the march. And it was also in one of those campaigns that strict orders were passed that the *ahadis* or ordinary soldiers should not take their wives or children with them—an order more honoured in the breach than in the observance in view of the example set by the Padsha and his officers.

But however simple their organisation for war, however naive and childish in their handling of it, to war itself the first Mohamedan rulers of India were bound by the ties of instinct and of blood. War is something natural to the nomad. In it he moves, lives, and has his being. "Why do you fight us without ceasing" asked the Roman Emperor Julian of the chief of a German tribe. "Because" was the reply, "war is the supreme happiness of life." Tacitus tells us that among the Germans it was considered laziness and inertia to obtain by the sweat of the brow what may be conquered by the shedding of blood. It seems to have been so with the Turks and Afghans also in India. From the day they set foot in India to the day on which their sceptre fell from their old and feeble hands, their history is the history of almost one prolonged and continuous war. During the five hundred years of the effective rule of the Mahomedan, from the year 1206 to the year 1707, it is doubtful whether India, thanks to them, enjoyed peace for as many as a hundred years. War, incessant and ever present, is the chief note of the Turkish domination in India. Wars of invasion, wars of succession, wars of quarrel and wars of revenge, wars of religion and wars for booty form, one or the other, the chief staple of the chronicles of Mahomedan India. To make use of a Roman expression, the temple of Janus was open almost throughout the period of Mahomedan rule. And what is most significant of the true character of the dominion of the Turks is the striking fact that they ceased to rule as soon as they ceased to conquer. Aurungzib was the last of their conquerors and he was the last of them that governed beyond mere reigning. It seemed as if the Fates had no use for the Mahomedans, once they had ceased to ply their native business of war.

Government.

The history of not a few countries shows how the military and general political organisation of States depend upon and influence each other. The constitution and government of an army is reflected in the constitution and Government of the State. In the first day of a people's history, it is through

its army that a people performs its first public act. An army is so necessary to the very existence of a state that it is not to be wondered at that its organisation colours the organisation of the State. This is not to say that the army produces or precedes the State. All that is suggested is that the State and its military organisation react upon and are responsive to each other. Democracies with their passion for Equality rather than Liberty drift sooner or later into compulsory military service. A feudal army exists only in a feudal state. In ancient Athens and Rome, in the days of their greatness, slaves were excluded from the army as well as from the body politic. The balance and checks of the ancient Roman polity continued till about the days when the substitution of mercenary for citizen troops led to the allegiance of the soldiers to the state being replaced by obedience to their military commander. This influence of the army upon the State is to be found also in the history of nomad peoples. The strength and weakness of the nomad army are found also in the nomad State. War being the chief business of the nomads, they form themselves into military States. Their Government is only their military organisation overflowing into other branches of their political activity.

Success in warfare demands absolute and undivided command and the nomad State gets a despotic ruler. Alike in the camp and in the capital his will, so far as it was effective, was law. He could brook no rival near his throne. The consultation with commanders of their forces, which nomadic chiefs on the march like Babar resorted to, disappeared soon after a country had been conquered and the troops were dispersed amongst the subjects. The Turkish rule in India was an undiluted despotism. If there were any ministerial councils they depended for their work and service on the pleasure of their sovereign and not on the Law or custom of the constitution. An aristocracy might have tempered the royal despotism. But the nobles around the Delhi Sultan were nobles by his favour rather than by right of birth and their claims to check the will of their sovereign, were exercised intermittently and determined by prospects of success rather than by the necessities of the body-politic. It was only when weaklings or children sat upon the masnad or at the death of the ruler, that the nobles showed their power just at the moment when it was unnecessary or dangerous to the State. When a strong man was on the throne, the opposition of the nobles generally ran underground in secret opposition or conspiracy. But never was it open, continuous or constitutional. And beyond the fear of exciting the opposition of their nobles there were few immediate checks upon the complete despotism of the Delhi Sultans. These, unlike their brothers of Constantinople, were not subject to the power of the Ulemas. A Fatwa of the Great Mafti could dethrone a Sultan of Turkey. But no Sheik or Kazi in India wielded such power over the Sultan as the

Sheik-Ul-Islam* at Constantinople. Fortunately, however, for the subject people of India, there was one check upon the royal despotism of their Mahomedan Sultans and that was the natural inertia of the latter. The nomad is not in love with the business of Government. Provided the subject peoples keep his treasuries full and do not disturb the peace of his reign the nomad conqueror does not care to press hard upon those whom he has conquered. He does not feel any overwhelming desire, like the Romans, or the Normans of the Middle ages or the English of our day, to impose his ideas and institutions upon the people whom the chances of war have brought under him. The Turkish rulers of India pressed lightly upon the lives of subdued peoples. They did not interfere with the religion of the Hindus beyond imposing special taxes upon them. The subject people were allowed as a rule to profess their religion in peace, provided they paid the taxes and obeyed the administrative decrees of the Sultan. The alternative "your life or your religion" said to have been offered to Hindus is a fiction of the popular historian. Not only in matters of Religion but in the sphere of government the Hindus were to a large extent left alone. The villages continued to exercise their powers of self-government and India then more than now, was a country of villages. Much of the conquered territory was left in the hands of native feudatory Rajahs. These enjoyed their traditional rights of succession. Provided they paid the tribute and performed their other obligations, they were allowed a great measure of liberty and autonomy. And this, not because the Mahomedan Sultans renounced the evils, but because they declined the burdens of absolutism. Hindu Law still governed the civil relations between Hindus. Indeed, whole provinces of Indian life were exempt from the interference of the State not so much because the Mahomedan rulers believed in the virtues of Liberty as because they had nothing better to offer and they did not feel any need to change what they had no reason to condemn. Here and there as in their Theory of Property in land, which we shall examine later on, they did interfere with the customs of the Hindus but as a rule and on the whole Hindu private life was free from the pressure of the Mahomedan rulers. However, apart from the important check furnished by the political laziness of the nomad and the ultimate check on all rule, public opinion, which as a matter of fact, acts quicker upon monarchical than democratic despotism, the Turkish rule in India, so far as it was effective and positive, was despotic in the extreme. Sultans like Allaudin tried to influence the course of trade by fixing the price of grain, concubines and slaves and even the journeys of carriers and caravans through a Controller of Markets. Sometimes the Mahomedan Sultans intruded even into the private life of their immediate dependents. Whereas in the

first flush of victory their absolute rule over the subject races was exercised through the despotism of subordinates who belonged to their own race and religion, a time came when the members of the ruling race itself were overtaken by the nemesis of despotism. After being allowed to tyrannise over the Hindus, and even while doing so, the conquerors themselves in their turn became the victims of the tyranny of the common Sultan. *Apropos* the marriage of a nobleman's daughter even the prudent Sher Shah could say "It becomes not a noble of a state to do a single act without the King's permission." And under the easy going Jahangir, it was considered a fault, if not a crime, that Mahobat Khan had affianced his daughter without the royal permission. In the end, both the ruling caste and the subjects were governed despotically. It was not for nothing that the term *rayat* which denoted the subject population came from a word which meant originally a flock of sheep.

A LITTLE KNOWN VAISHNAVA SECT

(JUSTICE, T. V. SESHAGIRI AYER, B.A., B.L.)

LAST time when the Census was taken in the Madras Presidency, I addressed a letter to the Census Commissioner pointing out the impropriety of classifying the Hindu religious sects in this part of India into *Saivittes* and *Vaishnavites* alone. I drew his attention to the fact that a Smartha is neither a *Saivite* nor a *Vaishnavite* pure and simple. The man in the street speaks of Smarthas and Vaishnavas and not of *Vaishnavites* and *Saivites*. My suggestion was not given effect to. I take it that the Commissioner was advised that I was too punctilious. It is to be hoped that when the next Census operations begin, my suggestion may not share the same fate.

Assuming that the Census Commissioner correctly classified the two main divisions as he has done, he has ignored the fact that among the Vaishnavites there are different degrees of Vaishnavism. The object of a census is not to point a decrease or increase in the numbers alone, but to *appraise the Government* of the extent and variety of religious beliefs that the people follow. If I am correct in my statement, the Commissioner ought to take note of the fundamental differences in such beliefs; otherwise, his classification would be practically meaningless. I was not aware of the existence of the sect of Vaishnavas of whom I propose to say a few words in this Journal, until very recently. I was in the state of mind in which the Census Commissioner was on the question. When I heard about the origin and history of this sect, it seemed to me that they were as distinct from the ordinary Vaishnavas as a Smartha is from a Vaishnava. The sect I refer to is known as the Vyhanasas. They are mostly archakas in temples. They do not accept the Alvars and Achariars who play such an important part in the cult of the ordinary Vaishnavite in the South. The Vyhanasas resent the introduction of Alvars and Achariars in the temples in which they minister. In this article I do not propose to trace very minutely the origin of the sect. I may probably do that on a future occasion. I shall confine myself now to describing the present position and general attitude of this class of people towards the sect of Vaishnavas who own Bhagavan Ramanuja as their Parama Acharya. Students of *Vaishnavite* religious precepts may be aware of the existence of two schools of worship in temples—the Vyhanasa and the Pancharathra. The former according to *Brigu Sanhitha* owes its inspiration to the sage Vyhanasa. The tradition is that Maha Vishnu asked the great Rishis to accompany Him to earth where He intended to incarnate himself as *Archavathar* and requested

these Rishis to perform Puja to Him so that men may be led into paths of wisdom and of beatitude. Sage Vasishta and the other Rishis are said to have preferred their Heavenly abode to coming down on earth to perform the services. Sage Vyhanasa alone readily assented to the command. The story told by his disciples is that at one time every Vishnu temple was being ministered by a disciple of this great sage. Then we come to modern times when the great Ramanuja visited these shrines. Whether it was in consequence of the opposition he met with from these Vyhanasa Archakas or because of his desire to simplify the form of worship so that the man in the street for whose salvation he laboured day and night may easily understand the worship, he apparently preferred the mode of worship known as the Pancharathra. He wanted this worship to be accepted in all Vishnu temples. Naturally there was considerable friction between the exponent of the new cult and the professors of the old. The intensity of this conflict is to be seen even to-day in the most famous of all temples in India, that at Tirupathi. There the Vyhanasa form of worship is strictly observed, although the singing of Prabanthams by the Tengelai Jeer and his followers and the recitation of mantra slokas by the follower of the Vadagalai sect are heard within the shrine. But as I said before, the essential ritual is still of the Vyhanasa type. There are no Alvars and Achariars within the shrine, although in the outside prakaram a niche has been found for the installation of the idol of Sri Ramanuja. I shall not endeavour to trace here the history of the conflict which went on between the two sects in that famous shrine. That again is a controversial topic on which I should like to have more information before putting pen to paper. But Tirupathi is in no way typical of the present state of affairs. In most of the Vishnu temples where Vyhanasa Battachariars offer worship, there is considerable dilution of that form of worship. There are not very many temples in South India where some Alvars or Achariars have not found installation within the shrine. The most typical instance of Vyhanasa form of worship yielding completely to the neo-Vaishnavite worship is to be found in Sri Perambuthoor. One hardly worships in that place the Vishnu Deity at whose feet the great Ramanuja prayed. It is Sri Ramanuja that is the true presiding deity there and naturally his followers think more of him than of the Deity which he worshipped. In this temple, although the Vyhanasa priest ministers within the shrine, his voice and his ministrations are drowned in the melodious recitations of the songs of Alvars and Achariars. Another place where despite Vyhanasa ministrations the temple is purely neo-Vaishnavite is the celebrated Paratha-sarathy Swamy temple at Triplicane. I am told that both in Sri Perambuthoor and Triplicane the very Vyhanasa priests offer prayers in their own homes to Alvars and Achariars and that during marriage and other festive

occasions *Prabanthams* are chanted. It is a natural course of evolution. Living in the midst of a powerful sect which expands and which is aggressive (I do not use this expression in any bad sense), the wonder is not that Vyhanasa priests have yielded so much to their surroundings, but that they should still hold on to their old faith. It may be that the time is not far distant when their distinctive characteristics will be obliterated and there will be but one Vaishnava Sect without reference to their historical origin. I also hope that the erasing of differences between the Vyhanasas and other Vaishnavas may be followed up by the sinking of differences between Tengalais and Vadagalais as well. It is perhaps a far cry, and it may be centuries before this pious wish is in a fair way to accomplishment. My object in this article is to draw attention to the existence of a Sect of Vaishnavas who are not generally recognised by the common people as in any way different from the followers of Ramanuja. A very large number of them is to be found in the village of Karupoor in the Tanjore District. There they still adhere to their ancient notions of detachment from and antagonism to the other Vaishnavas. There also will be found a number of very learned men who spread the cult of Vyhanasa Agamam among the select few. Time alone will show whether their endeavour to keep aloof will be successful or whether they will be absorbed in the mighty stream of neo-Vaishnavism.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

AT 5-30 P.M. on the 9th March 1919, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, G.C.I.E., Honorary Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society, and Sir Rabindranath Tagore, motored up to the Daly Memorial Hall. They were received by the President of the Society, Father Tabard and the Acting Dewan Mr. Banerji, C.I.E., and conducted to the *dais*, where seats had been provided. His Highness the Yuvaraja took the chair, and opened the proceedings of the day as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my pleasing duty, this evening to welcome, on behalf of the members of the Mythic Society, our distinguished countryman Sir Rabindranath Tagore, whom Bangalore is very fortunate and proud in having for a second time and who has so very kindly come forward, despite his recent indisposition, to read before the Society a paper on the “Folk-Religions of India,” which I understand he recently wrote amid the surroundings of the blue hills (Nilgiris). The subject is one which ought to and will, I am sure, prove very interesting to the members of this Society, especially handled as it is by a master-mind whose capacity for dealing with a matter of this kind we all know so well; and it is in the appropriateness of things that the lecture has been arranged to be delivered under the auspices of this Society. I now request Sir Rabindranath Tagore to kindly read his paper.

The lecture, lasted for an hour and a half, and needless to say was worthy of the lecturer; high philosophical ideas were expressed in a most eloquent and poetical language. When the applause which greeted the poet's peroration had subsided, His Highness the Yuvaraja, rising amidst renewed applause, delivered the following impressive address :—

We have listened with great interest to a very original and thoughtful paper which the renowned poet has been kind enough to read to us. In this paper, he has discussed the general basis of folk-religions and analysed and expounded in some detail one of the folk-religions of India. He has introduced us to the *Baul*,—the poor religious mendicant who sings his songs to accompaniment of his single-stringed instrument, wandering from village to village and home to home in Bengal, and he has given us a glimpse of the untold spiritual wealth which lies hidden in the throbbing breast behind the tattered long robe of the mendicant.

Of the two divergent streams of religious thought, the intellectual and

the devotional, the sources of which the poet has so clearly traced, the *Baul* belongs to the latter. His religion is not based on scriptures or sacred texts, but is a simple faith evolved by the spirit of man to save itself from degradation imposed on it by society or circumstances. By social or religious tyranny, man may be deprived of his birth-right by his fellowman; but the *Baul* is a living example to show that, even then, he may derive the highest consolation by extending his love to God, Who denies and deprives no one and Who extends His infinite love to all alike.

We have seen how the *Baul* realizes that God lives in him and his religion consists in loving God with a burning love—love in which all considerations of self are burnt and reduced to ashes—and in feeling that God also loves *him* with an ever-lasting and intense personal love. The *Baul*, in short, believes that just as *he* yearns for God, so *God* also yearns for *him*. He knows his own worthlessness according to all standards of the world; but he drowns all miseries in the supreme bliss of the consciousness that he is the beloved of God. Some of his utterances to the God whom he loves and who loves him, have been recited to us by the poet, and they possess a degree of sweetness, pathos, and dignity, which stir and illuminate the heart. When they are so enjoyable even in the dry form of an English prose translation, how much sweeter and infinitely more touching they must be in the original language when sung to the proper tune which, as the poet has said, varies with the special aroma of *Baul* devotion and sentiments!

Now, what are the lessons which we may derive from the lecture which has been so eloquently and impressively delivered to us? In the first place we feel more than ever confirmed in the belief that our knowledge of our own country is still very inadequate. As you all know, it was exactly a realization of this circumstance which led to the foundation of this Society, whose object is to gain and spread a fuller knowledge of Indian life in all its aspects. We must go on exploring the intellectual and spiritual fields of India. We must explore not only her past but also her present. And from what we have heard to-night I feel convinced that we must assiduously explore, not only her literature and philosophy, her arts and sciences and codified religions, but also the fields of folklore and folk-religion, where, in unpromising and even squalid surroundings, we may pick up the most precious gems of spiritual perception in all their pristine purity and beauty. Investigation in these fields may throw much light on some matters which are at present obscure to us and, as they aptly fall within the scope of the aims and objects of this Society, I would ask it to consider whether it cannot take up some researches on the lines so lucidly illustrated by the poet, with reference to some of the non-scriptural folk-religions of southern India.

Another lesson which we may derive from the paper, and which we may well inculcate on the younger generation, is that we should never treat any class or sect as beneath notice or unworthy of study or intercourse. Here we have the example of an indigent sect of illiterate mendicants—apparently a class from which nothing can be gained or learnt—possessing a religion which in its simplicity and directness, in its sweetness and faith, and love and dignity, has moved to fervent admiration such an eminent poet and thinker of modern times as Sir Rabindranath Tagore. In fact, the paper leads me to think that if we study the folk-religions of the so called depressed classes, we may in many cases find a *substratum* common to them and the more complete religions of other classes, which, if properly studied and brought to light, may draw all classes nearer to each other on the common platform of spiritual thought and culture.

We feel highly indebted to Sir Rabindranath Tagore for the trouble and inconvenience he has put himself to in paying us a visit here, and giving us the benefit of his views on some of the important questions that are now agitating the Indian mind. He is so much attached to Bolepur and *Shantiniketan* that they always occupy his mind and, however much we may wish to persuade him to stay with us for some time longer, I am afraid that away from there, he does not feel altogether happy. On behalf of you all here, gentlemen, I wish him a safe journey home and long life and happiness, and I wish for ourselves a continuance of those gems of truth that he has been so generously and lavishly giving us.

In a few graceful words, the President of the Society conveyed the thanks of all present to his Highness for the great honour he had done the Society in having consented to preside that evening. He said that they considered his presence there that night as a new proof of the sympathetic interest His Highness the Yuvaraja, in common with His Highness the Maharaja, took in the welfare of the Mythic Society.

He added that they would be happy to bear in mind the thoughtful advice given them by His Highness to study the folk-religions of southern India.

Then Father Tabard garlanded His Highness the Yuvaraja, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and the Acting Dewan which, with hearty cheers for His Highness the Yuvaraja, and the illustrious lecturer, brought the proceedings of the evening to a close.

DAMASCENE STEEL.

(COLONEL N. T. BELAIEW, C. B.,)

Jour. Roy. Soc. Arts, 2nd August, 1918.

ONE of the many articles which contributed to the world-importance of Indian trade was the famous Indian steel. It appeared in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, under the name of Damascene, or Damascus steel. By another trade route through Persia and the Caucasus, it found its way to Russia, under the Arabian name of "foulad," which the Persians spelt as "poulad," and the Russians as "bulat."

We find, for instance, in the journal of Prince Zvenigorodsky, the Russian Ambassador in Persia, the following words of the Shah Abbas:—"Helmets and shishaks are manufactured in our country, but a good 'bulat' is brought here from the Indian Kingdom."

On the other hand, from the twelfth century comes the testimony of the Arab geographer, Edrisi: "The Hindoos excel in the manufacture of iron and in the preparation of those ingredients along with which it is fused to obtain that kind of malleable iron usually styled Indian steel. They also have workshops wherein are forged the most famous sabres in the world."

The iron and steel industry was highly developed in Ancient India. A witness to this exists not only in the famous wrought-iron pillar of Delhi, but in many other specimens, some of them at least being undoubtedly high carbon crucible steels.

To this last category belonged the wootz, or small cakes of carbon steel, from which the damascene blades were manufactured. Some of such cakes were investigated by Reaumur, but he found nobody in Paris who could forge them. Some others were presented to the Royal Society by Dr. Scott, of Bombay, and brought to this country by Dr. Pearson. Faraday took a keen interest in them, and his investigation of alloy steel, conducted in conjunction with Stodart, was the result.

Subsequent researchs of General Anossoff, Professor Tchernoff, and the author, led to show that damascene steel was a very pure high carbon crucible steel, with excellent mechanical qualities and a splendid watering.

In his recent paper on this subject to the Iron and Steel Institute, the author explained that the splendid watering of the Oriental blades showed

the amount of mechanical treatment the original cake was subjected to; this watering, from the point of view of modern metallography, was its macrostructure. In order not to spoil this watering, the Oriental maker never dared to exceed the temperature of about 700 degrees.

One of the many results of this enforced carefulness was the spheroidising of cementite into globulites, and the subsequent ductility of the alloy, which struck both the ancient and modern explorer.

The author wishes to draw the attention of all interested in the production of high carbon and alloy steels to the many possibilities, especially from the point of view of after-war trade, which the damascene steel, or, we may better say, the "damascene process," offers to the steel maker in this country and in the Indian Empire.

REVIEWS

The Samkhya System.

BY DR. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, in the *Heritage of India Series*.
(The Association Press, Calcutta).

LATELY we noticed a volume on Canarese Literature by Rev. Mr. Lewis Rice, published by the Editors, the Bishop of Dornakal, and Dr. J. K. Farquhar, in the Heritage of India Series. The latest addition to the popularised treasures of ancient India, is the volume on *Samkhya System* by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, Sanskrit Professor of the University of Edinburgh. It is not too much to say that the Editors and the author of the book deserve high compliment for the get up of the work which they have placed before the Indian and British public. Mr. Keith has divided the book into eight chapters, tracing the course of "Samkhya" in the Upanishads, viewing it in comparison with Buddhism, proving its development in the great Epic of India, giving accounts of *Shastitantra* and *Samkhyakarika* two basic texts of the great system of thought, noting the possible interrelations between Samkhya and the Philosophy of the Hellenes, finally closing his account of the great Indian Scheme of Metaphysics with a description of the latest phase of its philosophical evolutions. Some of Mr. Berriedale Keith's conclusions differ from those of other European and Indian exponents of Indian Philosophy, but since at no time Mr. Keith "jumps" to conclusions without copious adducement of responsible facts, the difference of conclusions could be referred to to the psychological make of individual writers. Mr. Berriedale Keith's popular little volume is in all respects a scholarly piece of writing, only with this shortcoming, that it is based on translations and criticisms of Samkhya works by previous European Writers, and not the water drawn from the original spring of Devanagari Sanskrit. But it is a noble attempt on the part of the Editors, and a good contribution on the side of the author, and we are grateful for the sincere attempt to restore the passing lustre of Indian Science and art. All who love learning, and all who have a passion for the relics of past humanity, will join us in wishing for the best success of the efforts of the organizers of this series of Publications.

G. R. J.

The Study of Jainism

BY KANNOOMAL M.A.,
Printed by P. Khayali Ram, Manager. Damodar Printing Works,
Agra—Price 12 Annas.

THIS is a succinct and clear summary of Jain o philosophy (*Dharma*) and religion based on the *Tattwa darsha* of late Mahamuni Shri Atmaramji, the well-known

High priest of the Jains. Mr. Kannoomal manages to give a variety of information in the compass of a small book. We have not only a Chapter on Jaina philosophy, but also others on the Tirthankaras, the Ideal of a Jain Sadhu and the Ideal of a Jain householder. Within these four Chapters are included almost everything that a Student of Jainism would like to have. Mr. Kannoomal is not for barren argumentation but only for clear exposition. We would commend his book to any one who wishes to have an accurate idea of Jainism.

C. H.

ŚĀŚVATAKOŚA, THE ANEKĀRTHA-SAMUCHCHAYA OF ŚĀŚVATA

Edited with Introduction discussing date of Śāśvata, critical notes, glossary of words and an appendix containing a rare lexicon named RATNAKOŚA, by Krishnaji Govind Oka.
Oriental Books Supplying Agency, Poona, 1918.

THE edition of the *Anekārtha-Samuchchaya* before us for review is a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject of Sanskrit lexicography. The number of Sanskrit lexica published in a manner calculated to suit the requirements of the Sanskrit scholar of the present day is deplorably few. We are therefore glad to see a careful scholar of the type of Mr. Krishnaji Govind Oka of the Deccan Education Society devoting his time and talents to this much neglected branch of Indology, and we congratulate both the learned author and the enterprising publisher on the success of their undertaking.

This work of Śāśvata or the *Śāśvata* as it is popularly called, is a glossary giving the various meanings of a selected number of Sanskrit words, unlike most other Sanskrit lexica which are vocabularies of synonyms. The collection does not by a long way exhaust the list of Sanskrit words. It is remarkable that not only the choice but even the sequence of vocables that are successively taken up for explanation is entirely arbitrary. Consider, for instance, the first ten words of which this dictionary gives the meanings:—*śiva*, *bala madhu*, *dhruva*, *śikhā*, *ghana*, *rāma*, *padma*, *vasu* and *gotra*. The principle, if any, determining the succession of these vocables will remain a perfect mystery. Without the help of an alphabetical list of words occurring in the *kośa*, like the one added by the editor at the end of the volume, looking for the meaning of a word in this dictionary would have been as laborious as looking for a needle in a haystack.

The age of Śāśavata is a question debated by scholars, and from the very nature of the case, absolute finality appears not to be possible on this point. By dint of comparing the meanings of selected words given in the *kośa* with those found in use among wellknown authors or commented on by grammarains and other lexico graphers whose dates are known with greater or less degree of certainty, Mr. Oka arrives the period covered by the sixth and seventh century as the age of Śāśavata, an

approximation which has every probability on its side. The annotations at the end are extremely helpful ; their number might perhaps with advantage have been slightly enlarged.

The printing of the text is on the whole satisfactory. Here it is necessary to draw attention to one point only. It is to be noticed that the pair of round brackets () is made to perform a multitude of tasks, many of which are quite beyond its legitimate scope. One comes across not only syllables and single words but even whole stanzas enclosed in these brackets. These enclosures not only disturb the metre of the verses and the symmetry of the printed line, but at times prepare puzzles for the reader, who is offered not the slightest hint anywhere in the body of the work as to what the enclosing signifies. Are they emendations or various readings or mere conjectures ? If we might make a suggestion in view of a re-edition of this work, we would recommend that such matter should be relegated to the foot-notes, where it will not hamper the reading of the text and where, moreover, fuller explanations will be made possible. We may next say a few words regarding the appendix at the end containing the text of the *Ratnaśāstra*, which is a dictionary of monosyllabic words. This is the *editio princeps* of a rare text, not without some interest. It supplies many a meaning which is not usually met with in our modern dictionaries. Its reliability and age remain yet to be critically examined,

In conclusion, we express the hope that this scholar, who has given us in the edition of the *Śaśvata* under review and in an earlier edition of the lexicon of *Amarasimha* unmistakable proofs of having a through grasp of his subject, will favour us by bringing out similar editions of other Sanskrit glossaries which are at present known only to collectors of manuscripts, and specialists in lexicography.

V. S.

Some Austral-African Notes and Anecdotes.

BY MAJOR A. J. N. TREMEARNE, M.A.,

*Dip. Authr. F. R. G. S., F. R. A. I.—With 122, Illustrations—John Bale
Sons & Daniel and Son, Ltd., Oxford Street, London W.*

MAJOR Treamearne, who is already well-known as the author of several books dealing with South African races, customs superstitions and folklore, has once again laid all anthropological enquirers under a deep debt of gratitude by his present publication. This connects and supplements his former books and as such it is doubly welcome. The "Notes" are directly from his note-book and as such possess additional interest. The illustrations which exceed a hundred are excellent and add to the value of the book.

We do not propose to review at length Major Treamearne's book for it is one that should be read first hand by every one interested in anthropological matters. But there are a few points to which we would direct particular attention. The

Chapter on Court English is an amusing one. Major Tremearne refers to the curious change that familiar English words undergo—or rather have under gone—in West Africa. His two chapters on primitive West Africans are equally interesting. From a strictly ethnographic point of view we would specially commend the chapters on “African Warfare,” “A fight with Invisible cannibals,” “Music,” “Dress and Fashion in West Africa”, the illustrations in each being of a telling character. In the second of these chapters referred to above, we are told (and we have illustrations to exemplify the same) that the people of Ayashi (a rebel off-shoot from the Nada or Mama tribe) wear stocks or bones through the septa of their noses, and the women, in addition, stick ornaments in both lips so as to make them pout in front. Major Tremearne has two striking chapters on missionaries and officials in West Africa. These deserve in our opinion, close study. With Mary Kingsley he says we must “think black” if we want to devise a right system of education for the West African native. As regards religion, few will dispute his sane conclusion that “the pagans should be left to choose whether they will cleave to their old beliefs or embrace new ones, and if the latter whether they will accept the tenets of Christianity or of Mohamadanism. In some ways it would be more convenient for the pagans to cling to their heathenism if it could be purified, but if the people must be converted, then let it be to Christianity—but to a Christianity, which can make allowances.”

C. H.

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THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH.

Vepery, Madras.

THIS monthly is in its eighth month now, and from a perusal of the articles published in it all these months, we are convinced it is destined, if it continues, to add substantially to our knowledge of South Indian Ethnography and Scriptology. From the occasional appeals for public patronage made in its pages by the Editor, one gathers that it is a one-man venture, and our bitter experience of all such ventures in the South counsels us to be sceptic about the aduItage of any such efforts. The *Madras Athaeneum*, *The Madras Literary Record*, *The Madras Review*, and lastly *the Journal of the South Indian Association*, each started under bright auspices and ably conducted, has had its day and is now no more. Somehow, Madras seems to leave severely alone. after a time, the rash mortals who may venture to float their Journalistic barks on the waters of Higher Culture. For these and other reasons, we would suggest to Mr. Rajagopala Rao to get up an adequate organisation at his back to uphold his bright little journal through thick and thin, or failing this, that he should try and affiliate his rare energies to existing organisations.

In the number before us, there is a further instalment of the Editor's critique on Caldwell's theory of "Scythian affinities of Dravidian Words." Like Max Muller's elaboration of a fancied migration of a specific people called the Aryans into India Caldwell also has done his best to draw the red herring of a Scythio-Dravidian affinity across the progress of Truth, and the sooner the speculations of these early visionaries are laid the better. Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao, M.A., in his notes on the lately discovered Kakateeya Inscription of the famous Queen Rudrama of Warangal, prefers to pin his faith to the view that the Queen was the daughter and not the wife of King Ganapati of Warangal, as Marco Polo has testified to in his great travels.

We wish this Journal all success.

K. R.

"The Indian Antiquary"

(June and July 1918.)

"DEKCHAN of the Satavahana Period" by D. R. Bhandarkar, concluded in the June no., helps us to a better understanding of the relations between the Kshaharâtās Nahâpana, Chashtana and Rudradaman on the one hand, and the great Andhras, Gôtamiputra-Sâtakarni, Pulumayi, Siva-Sri-Satakarni and Sri-Chandra-Sati on the other. The story of how Gôtamiputra killed Nahapana, and wrested Western Malwa from him, and how, Rudradaman of the second Kshahârata dynasty retrieved the disaster in A. D. 150 is convincingly told. Incidentally, the author also proves how Pulumâyî was not a successor of Gôtamiputra as has been held till now, but that he ruled the North-west parts of his father's Kingdom conjointly with the latter, becoming sole King only after his father's death 19 years later. Mr. Bhandarkar has also edited critically the place names of the Andhras, eleven in number, that find mention in the above important inscription. Only 3 of these are not identified, viz., Asika, Macha (Matsya?) and Setagiri. Dr. Vishnu Sukhtankar of Poona begins in this number and finishes in the next, his translation of Prof. Jacobi's article on Kautilyas's *Arthasâstrâ*, published in 1912 as part of the transactions of the Berlin Academy. Dr. Sukhtankar deserves our thanks for thus placing within our reach the great savant's telling arguments in favour of Kautilya as a historical personality of unique statemanship, to whom Chandragupta the first Maurya really owed his throne and his greatness. Pandit Shama Sastry's contention that his hero was not a 'fake' but very real, and that the *Arthasastra* was the monumental creation of his genius, is amply borne out by Dr. Jacobi, who pooch-poochs the idea of this immortal work being the outcome of a school and not the hard-conceived offspring of a single mighty brain. In fact, the professor says, Vishnugupta started the school, instead of the school vivifying an imaginary *Arthasastra*. "The Vault-

ing System of the Indolamahat at Mandu", by Captain, K. A. C. Creswell, affords interesting information about the Nabatean civilization in the near Pre-Christian centuries, though his speculations as to the source of the arches in question seem unwarranted. Sir Richard Temple's short note, in this July number of the spread of Hobson-Jobson in Mesopotamia so soon after the advent thither of Englishmen, affords an interesting insight into the gradual infiltration of alien tongues with native languages.

K. R.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(Vol. XIV. No. 7, October 1918).

AMONG articles of varied interest and being scientific, not directly within our scope, are two, which should interest all students of history. The first is concerned with the flora of the Anamalais and comes from the pen of Mr. C. Fischer of the Indian Forest Service. The account embraces that part of the Anamalais which falls within the limits of the Coimbatore District. The Five main types of flora reported about in this paper are, the dry semi-desert type, the dry deciduous hill type, the moist deciduous forest type, the ever green type and the grass land type. "From all sources, including those already alluded to, I have drawn out a list of 1,805 species, exclusive of fungi, as occurring in the Anamalai range." Four indigenous races of Jungle men reside in these hills, the Kadirs, the Malayas, the Muduvas and the Pulayas. The first confine themselves almost entirely to the evergreen forest region, the second live alongside of plains bordering Villages, while the other two dwell exclusively in the Central and Eastern portions of the hills. Of the Muduvas, the author says, that they rate themselves as the aristocracy of the hills, and are acknowledged as superior by the other tribes, their relative status being considered to be equal to that of the Brahmins among the Hindus. The second article is on "The Wandering Teachers at the time of the Buddha" and is by Babu Bimala Charan Law, M.A. It is an attempt to trace the various elements that went to compose the peculiar Sophistic institutions which came to such prominence after and immediately before the rise of Buddhism. The Wanderers were of many kinds chief among them being the Sramana and the Brahmana Parivrajakas. By the first is meant "all those religious bodies or teachers of Philosophy who turned monks, who were known as Bhikkus because of their practice of begging, (and) who shaved their heads clean as a mark of distinction from the Hermits, the wearers of matted hair, as well as from the Brahmanas, the wearers of crest or lock." The Sramanas were as a class celibates and hostile to Brahmana traditions. By the second are meant the Wanderers proper represented by the Tridandakas and others, and who constituted the connecting link between the radicals like the Sramanas and the conservatives like the Brahmanas!

The interest of the whole article is centred in the statement of the author that these schools of mendicant peripatetics engaged themselves in talk, to wit, of tales of kings, of robbers, of ministers of state, tales of war, of terror, of battles, talks about food and drink, about clothes and beds and garlands and perfumes, talks about relation ship, talks about equipages, villages, towns, cities, and countries, talks about women and heroes, gossip such as that at street corners and places whence water is fetched, ghost stories, desultory chatters, legends about the creation of the land or sea and speculation about existence and non-existence."

From this state of things, an atmosphere arose according to our author which favoured the immortal Arthasastra of Chanakya. And he further contends that in the names of several of the leaders of these Wanderers could be recognised the authorities whom Chanakya either refutes or upholds. With premises not very strong, the contention is yet original, and the whole article will repay persual.

K. R.

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SOME NOTES ON MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL
CUSTOMS IN SALEM DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA

(Specially written for the Society's Journal)

F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

THE scientific importance of the complex marriage and funeral ceremonies of South India has not yet received from anthropologists the attention it deserves.

The culture of South India, viewed as a whole, is the product of interaction between an indigenous sub-culture, which provisionally may be described under the conveniently elastic term "Dravidian," and an intrusive super-culture which may be vaguely described as "Aryan." Both sub-culture and superculture are themselves complex. The origins of "Dravidian" culture are obscure, and the evidence available is insufficient for the formulation of general theories. "Aryan" culture, of which Brahmanic culture in South India is the type, is undoubtedly a blend of the culture of the "Vedic" invaders of Northern India with the cultures of the people they found in possession of the Indo-Gangetic plains.

For reasons which it is not necessary here to enumerate, the customs connected with marriage, and in a less degree those connected with death, have developed in South India on unusually elaborate lines. This is appa-

rently due in part to the tendency of Non-Brahman castes to imitate Brahmanic practice without discarding their ancestral customs. The best instance of this accretionary tendency is seen in the intricate and tedious marriage customs of the Komati Vaisyas,* who are perhaps the most intensely Brahmanised of all the Dravidian castes.

It is *a priori* probable that a comparative study of marriage and funeral customs in South India would enable the scientific anthropologist (1) to differentiate between the customs that belong to the sub-culture from those that are characteristic of the super-culture, and to resolve each culture into its component elements and (2) to determine, by a sort of quantitative analysis to what extent any particular caste has been modified by contact with Brahmanic culture, and perhaps also, (3) to trace various customs to their sources, and thereby pave the way to the solution of that long standing puzzle, the "Dravidian Problem."

But the Process is not easy, for the following reasons:—

(1) the accounts hitherto published of the marriage and funeral customs of South India are incomplete, and the evidence is too disjointed and chaotic to allow of a comprehensive view being taken of these customs as a whole; it is almost impossible to discriminate the normal from the abnormal, or to estimate the scientific significance of individual features;

(2) very little of the recorded evidence is accompanied with sufficiently exact information as to (a) the locality, (b) the endogamous unit, from which the evidence is drawn.

Information on these points is of very great importance. It is by no means the case that the customs observed by one endogamous section of a caste, or that the customs observed by a caste in one locality, are observed by the same caste in a locality entirely different. Indifference to local variations in practice, and to variations between the several endogamous units which compose a caste, has vitiated very materially much of the work that has been done.

Before any real scientific value can be assigned to the facts connected with marriage and death customs in South India, it will be necessary:—

(1) to draw up an exhaustive list of such customs noting all variations from the "type" if "type" there be;

(2) to ascertain the topographical distribution of each custom, and of its local variations;

(3) to ascertain the presence, absence or variation of each custom in each of the endogamous units into which the castes of South India are divided,

* See *Ethnographic Survey of Mysore No. IV.*

A life-time would not suffice for the completion of such a comprehensive scheme of research. The only lines on which such a task can be tackled would be by systematic co-operation ; independent, intensive and exhaustive investigations should be made in every district of South India and the results of such investigations should then be correlated.

The notes which follow are based, for the most part, on enquiries made in Salem district. Salem district is situated in that portion of the Madras Presidency where the three largest sections of the Dravidian peoples, the Tamils, the Telugus and the Kanarese, meet and overlap. It is divided into eight taluks. Of these, three, viz., Salem, Ōmalur and Tiruchengodu,* are in the valley of the Kavēri (Cauvery), and one, Āttūr, is in the valley of the Vellār. These four southern Taluks are known as the Talaghāt, and 81 per cent of their population is Tamil. Hosūr Taluk is situated on the Mysore Plateau, at an elevation of between 2,500 and 3,000 feet above sea level, and is known as the Bālāghāt. Of its population, only 45 per cent speak Tamil, while over 30 per cent speak Kanarese. The Taluks of Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri and Ūttankarai are intermediate in elevation between the Talaghāt and Bālāghāt, and constitute the Bāramahāl, which is separated from the Talaghāt and the Bālāghāt by ranges of lofty hills. Of its peoples, 74 per cent speak Tamil ; the Kanarese speaking percentage rises to nearly 10 in Krishnagiri and Dharmapuri. The Telugus are fairly evenly distributed throughout the district, the percentage for the whole being nearly 15.

Language, be it noted, is of first rate importance in differentiating castes in South India, for, with very few exceptions, difference of language is an absolute bar to intermarriage.

The subjoined notes, or rather jottings, are selected from a mass of material collected for the revision of the Salem District Gazetteer. They do not pretend to be of much intrinsic scientific value, but they serve to illustrate the possibilities of the methods above suggested. The preliminary sketch of some of the principal types of marriage and funeral customs is followed by a few samples of the customs in vogue among some of the more important castes. No attempt is made to explain the meaning or origin of the several customs, or to correlate them with customs prevalent outside South India. Some of the customs explain themselves ; notably the various fertility rites, and the precautions against the Evil Eye. Those who are conversant with M. Van Gennep's *Les Rites de Passage* will find ample illustration of that brilliant writer's theories. Those who are familiar with the ritual of ancient Greece and Rome will find abundant analogies suggestive of *lebêtes gamikoi*,

* Recently the Taluk of Nāmakkal has been restored in Salem and Rāsipuram Taluk newly formed.

loutrophōros, parochos, katachūsma, epaulia, eedna pherne, proix, confarreatio, pronuba, deductio, dextrarum junctio*, the use of saffron, sacrifices to the Lares and to Jupiter, the consecration of the hearth-altar, etc.

One word in explanation of a few of the vernacular terms.

Mēnarikam is the Telugu term for the rule of Cross Cousin Marriage.

Illātam is the practice of "affiliating a son-in-law"—failing male issue; a father is at liberty to marry his daughter to a man who agrees to become a member of the family, and thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house and inherits the estate for the children.

Basavi is a "dancing girl" or consecrated prostitute, who is entitled to inherit her father's property as a son and transmit it to her off spring.

Pān-supāri Betel-leaf and areca-nut.

Punyāha-vāchanam the purificatory ceremony for the removal of pollution; it is usually performed by the '*purōhit*' (family priest), who sprinkles consecrated water, *tirtam* on those members of a family who have contracted pollution.

Pancha-gavya a most important purificatory rite, which consists of drinking the five products of the cow, viz., milk, curds, ghee, cow-dung, and cow-urine.

I. Wedding Ceremonies.

Marriages are almost always arranged by the parents of bride and bridegroom. It is unnecessary here to discuss the details of prohibited degrees, exogamic laws, etc. Generally speaking, marriage between those who are, in theory or in fact, descended through males from a common ancestor may not marry, and the union of a boy with the daughter of his maternal uncle, of his paternal aunt or of his sister, is in general favour, and is sometimes compulsory.

Infant marriage is the mark of Brahmans and of the "higher" *i.e.*, the more Brahmanised non-Brahman castes. There is reason to believe that adult marriage was the rule among Dravidians, and it still survives among some of the "lower" castes, though the tendency to conform to the Brahmanic model is growing stronger.

The marriage ceremonies of South India may be grouped under three heads, viz., (1) Betrothal, (2) Wedding, (3) Consummation.

Betrothal among Non-Brahmans is a simple matter. The proposal comes from the parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom elect, who pay a formal visit, with presents, to the parents of the intended bride, and, if the latter agree, and the omens be favourable, a formal exchange of *pān-supāri* clinches the bargain,

*See Prof. Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 185 sq.

and a family feast follows. Usually the local elders and office bearers of the caste, as well as the maternal uncles of both the boy and the girl must be present throughout the proceedings.

The payment of a bride-price, (Tam. *Pariyam*, Tel. *tera*, Kan. *oli*), by the parents of the bridegroom to the parents of the bride is a practice almost universal among Non-Brahmans. Brahmans, on the other hand, regard the payment of a bride price with abhorrence, as lowering the virtues of womanhood to the level of a marketable commodity,

Consummation, in the case of infant marriage, follows the girl's attainment of puberty, as soon as the pollution period is over, In the case of adult marriage, consummation is usually postponed for at least three months after the wedding, as it is considered unlucky for a child to be born within the first year of wedlock. Consummation is not usually accompanied by any public ceremony.

The wedding ceremonies ordinarily last for three days. In wealthier households they extend to five or seven, for the poorer classes one day may suffice.

It is hardly necessary here to describe the procedure among Brahmans, which is dealt with in detail elsewhere. The marriage ritual among the higher Non-Brahman castes approximate to the Brahman standard, the Brahmanic element becoming less and less as the social scale descends.

The following are the principal ceremonies observed among the higher Tamil castes :—

A. PRELIMINARIES.

The morning of the first day of the wedding, and usually also three or five days before the wedding begins, are spent by the contracting families in various preliminary ceremonies, among them.

1. *nalangu*,
2. tonsure and nail-paring,
3. erection of the wedding *pandal*,
4. consecration of the milk post,
5. consecration of the earthen pots,
6. visit to the village well,
7. Vignēsvara worship.
8. sowing of the " nine grains."

1. The *nalangu* ceremony (Tel. *nalagu*, Kan. *modalarasina*) consists in smearing the arms and shoulders of bride and bridegroom with turmeric or some other paste, and anointing them with oil*, and is often repeated for

* Among Brahmans the ceremony is restricted to painting the feet of the bridal pair with a mixture of turmeric paste and *chunam*; and water, not oil, is poured over their heads. Vide Mr. Thurston *Ethnographic Notes* p. 6 and Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs* p. 231. For varieties in practice see below.

several consecutive days before the wedding begins, and also at a later stage in the celebrations.

2. The nail-paring ceremony and the shaving of the bridegroom is usually performed by the barber; if the bridegroom is a boy, his face is symbolically touched with the razor (*muga-vēlai*).

3. The marriage *pandal* (Tel. *Chappram*, Kanarese *Chappra*) is erected in front of the house where the wedding is to be celebrated; it is usually supported by 12 posts, in some castes by 16. It should contain a raised dais of earth (Tamil *manavarai mēdai*, or *arasani*, Telugu *pendli-ṭīta*, Kanarese *hase-jagali*) in which the bridal couple take their places for the more important ceremonies.

4. The consecration of the milk-post (Tamil and Telugu *pālu-kambam*, also called *muhurta-kāl*, Kanarese *hālu-kamba*) plays an important part in the marriage ceremonies of most of the Non-Brahman castes. On the morning of the wedding day some relative of the bride or bridegroom, usually a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt's son, breaks a branch from a tree, (the particular species is prescribed by the custom of each caste), and returns to within a short distance of the village where he sits down, holding the branch in his hand. The parents of both bride and bridegroom with a company of relatives then march out to where the man with the branch sits. There they burn incense, which they wave over the branches, break a coconut, offer fruit and *pān-supāri* to the branch and make obeisance to it. Rice, dhall, incense, *pān-supāri* and turmeric are then given to the man with the branch, who hands the branch over to the party of relatives. The latter return to the *pandal*, and dig a hole near the central post, the *purōhit* performs *ṣṇyāha-vāchanam* and sprinkles the *tīrtam* over the hole; several articles, such as, pearl, coral, milk and ghee are placed in the hole, and the branch is planted in it. The hole is filled up with earth, and the dhoby wraps a cloth round the branch and ties it to the centre pole. The branches most commonly used for the milk-post are those of *Ficus religiosa* (*ṭīpal*, or *arasa-maram*), *Eugenia jam-bolana* (*jambu*), *Euphorbia tirucalli* (*kalli*, the milk-hedge plant) and *Caletropis gigantea* (*erukku*). *Prosopis spicigera*, *Mimusops hexandra* and other trees are also used. Some castes use the branches of two different trees for the milk post.

5. The village potter is required to prepare for the wedding a number of new earthenware pots of different sizes. The number of pots varies with almost every sub-caste. On the wedding morning, the bridegroom's party pays a ceremonial visit to the potter with musical honours, they wave burning incense thrice over the pots, break a coconut, offer to the pots fruits and *pānsupāri*, worship them, make the customary presents to the potter, and

return with the pots to the marriage *pandal*. Some of the pots are placed round the central pole, and some are filled with water, grain or cooked food, and placed in an inner room; a lamp is kindled and is kept burning till the last day of the wedding, and the pots, which are called *aravēni*, are worshipped at intervals throughout the festivities.

(6) A ceremonial visit is paid to the village well by a few matrons of the contracting families. The usual offerings are made to the water, and burning incense is waved over it. (*Ganga-pūjā*) A few earthen pots are then filled with the water and carried back to the *pandal* where one or more of the consecrated pots round the central pole are filled.

(7) Vignēsvara, the God of Hindrance, is invariably propitiated at the outset of all important Hindu ceremonies, and weddings are no exception. Puja is done to him early on the first day of the wedding by the matrons of the household, and his favour is often solicited at a later stage.

(8) The sowing of the Nine Grains (*navdanyam*) is a rite symbolic of fertility. A certain number of earthen platters are prepared by the potter and these are filled with cow-dung, in which the grains § are sown, and sprinkled with water.

B. THE WELCOME.

The next group of ceremonies is connected with the welcoming of the bride and bridegroom to the marriage *pandal*. The following may be taken as a type†

The parents of the bride march in procession to the bridegroom's house and conduct him back to their own. On arrival at the *pandal* he is garlanded, and an offering of rice cakes in a salver is waived over him and placed at his feet. They then conduct the bridegroom back to his house.

Next the bride herself is brought to the *pandal*; a salver of cakes and jaggery is waived over her and she is then conducted back to the house.

Then the parents of the bridegroom bring in procession from their own house the bride's wedding ornaments and cloths, with coconuts, jaggery, plantains, garlands, saffron, turmeric, sandal-dust, *pān supāri* and the bride

§ The Nine Grains are :—

1. *Kadalai* (Bengal-gram),
2. *Ellu* (gingelly),
3. *Kollu* (horse-gram),
4. *Mochai* (beans)
5. *Pachai payir* (green-gram),
6. *Utundu* (black gram),
7. *Gōdumai* (wheat)
8. *Tuvārai* (dhall).
9. *Pachai-arisi* (rice).

Cholam, Kambu and Ragi are excluded. A slightly different list is given by Dr. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants*, p. 478.

† *Karai-kattu Vellalars* as narrated in *Baramahal Records*, section III p. 82.

price, and deliver all these articles to the parents of the bride. The parents are taken into the house and the bride is decked in her bridal attire.

Lastly, the bride's parents proceed once more to the bridegroom's house and conduct him to the wedding *pandal*, where he takes his seat on a wooden stool, and the bride is then brought and takes her seat beside him.

C. MUHURTAM.

The above preliminaries are followed by a group of ceremonies known collectively as *Muhūrtam* which centre round the tying of the *tāli* the binding act of the marriage ritual.

In most castes the marriage chaplets (plates of silver or gold, Tamil *pattam*, Telugu and Kanarese *bāshinga*) are at this stage tied round the foreheads of both bride and bridegroom, usually by the *purōhit*, and the *kankanam* (threads of wool or cotton) are tied round their wrist together with a piece of turmeric and iron ring.

The *tāli* is then consecrated by the *purōhit* who performs *hōmam* (burnt offering), places it in a half coconut, blesses it, * and then passes it round among the assembled guests, who touch it, each in turn, in token of good will. It is then taken by the bridegroom and tied round the neck of the bride, while the *purōhit* repeats *mantras*.

In some castes it is customary to suspend a screen of cloth between bride and bridegroom before the *tāli*-tying, and the corners of their cloths are often tied together.

The *tāli*-tying is followed or preceded by a group of ceremonies known as *kanyadānam*, or "gift of the virgin", by which the parents of the girl symbolically transfer her to the custody of her husband. The bride's father usually places her hand in the hand of the bridegroom, and recites some such formulae as "we give this girl to thee for wife; do thou nourish and protect her". Milk or water is poured over the joined hands (*dhāra*) and sometimes the girl's father washes the feet of the bride (*pātha-pūja*).

"Exchange of garlands" (*mālai-mātrruthal*) is commonly performed at this stage, boy and girl, each in turn, thrice placing a garland on the other's neck.

The *purōhit*, followed by the assembled guests, then pours rice over the heads of the bridal pair (rice-pouring or *sesha* ceremony) who then walk hand in hand round the milk post.

After sunset, the bridegroom leads the bride outside the *pandal* and points out to her the star *Arundati* (in Ursa Major), which represents the wife of the Rishi Vasishta, who exceeds all other wives in womanly virtue.

* Or ties it round an unbroken coconut.

The couple then return to the pandal, resume their seats, and partake of milk and plantains. Exchange of *pān-supāri* follows, and the day ends in a feast.

D. CLOSING CEREMONIES.

The *Muhūrtam* makes the bridal couple man and wife, and is followed by miscellaneous ceremonies which close the celebrations.

The formal removal of the chaplets and the *kankana-visārchanam*, or undoing of the wrist threads, are ordinarily regarded as closing the wedding ceremonies properly so called.

On the night of the second or third day there is usually a procession round the village with music and fireworks, during which a visit is paid to the village temple and offerings are made to the idol. On their return to the house, the bridal party is sometimes met by a bevy of matrons who wave before them a salver of saffron water to avert evil spirits, and at the threshold coconuts are broken.

Some castes on the last day of the wedding perform the ant-hill ceremony which is followed by a final worship of the milk-post. The ant-hill ceremony is falling into disuse. Bride and bridegroom accompanied by a few friends, walk in procession to an ant-hill outside the village, taking with them the usual offerings, together with a basket and a hoe. Milk and ghee are sprinkled on the ant-hill, a salver of incense is waved thrice over it, a coconut is broken and fruit offered. Then the bridegroom takes the hoe and digs the ant-hill, the bride puts the earth in a basket, and a matron places the basket on her head. The party then return to the *pandal*. There the bridegroom mixes the earth with water, makes it into a lump, and gives it to the bride, who puts it down near the milk-post, moulds it into the form of an altar, and bedaubes it with saffron, sandal-dust, and turmeric. The wrist threads, the chaplets and the bride's old cloth are tied to the milk-post; cooked rice and vegetables are brought by some matrons of the family and spread on leaves; a salver of burning incense is waved thrice over the food, fruit and *pān-supāri* is offered to the milk-post, and the bride prostrates before it. This ceremony is succeeded by a general feast and final distribution of *pān-supāri* which close the festivities.

Before the guests depart, they are all expected to make presents of money or cloths (*moyi*) to the bridal pair, though these presents are supposed to be returned to their givers in due course.

The last day of the marriage festivities is usually known as the *Nāgavalli** day, on account of so-called *Nāgavalli* ceremony, the purpose of which is

* The origin and meaning of the term *Nāgavalli* seems doubtful, vide *E. S. M.* I s. v. Kuruba. p. 14; *Baramahal Records*, III, p. 11.

to conciliate the spirits of the family ancestors. An earthen pot is white-washed on the outside and inscribed with mystic characters. The bride and bridegroom place an offering of fruit, sandalwood and other perfumes before the pot, walk round it thrice, and make three oblations of dressed rice to the *manes* of their ancestors, who are considered as dismissed to their celestial abodes. The oblations are taken away by the washerman and the sacred pot is stored among the family belongings.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Most of the Kanarese castes and some of the Telugu perform a preliminary rite known as *surige* or *mulê-nîru-Sāstra*. Four earthen vessels filled with water are placed to mark the four corners of a square, and a thread is passed round the neck of each and from vessel to vessel a prescribed number of times. * Into this enclosure, the bridegroom enters, with his mother and some elderly female relative whose husband is alive, and both take their seats. Other persons, usually five matrons connected with the contracting families, then bathe the boy and his mother with hot water, perform various ceremonies, and finally pour over them the contents of the four pots. The boy and his mother then change their clothes, and a similar ceremony is performed over the bride and her mother. In some castes the bride and bridegroom go through the rite together. The thread that formed the enclosure is afterwards given to the matrons of the families, and pieces of it are worn on their *tālis* as talismans.

Another practice not uncommon after *Muhārtam* is the "common meal" (*Buvva*) partaken of by the bride and bridegroom, who eat off the same leaf or platter. The food is specially prepared in new vessels by matrons of the family who have fasted previously, and who, during its preparation, should hold their cloths to their noses in case the food should be contaminated by their smelling it. The dish or leaf in which it is served is consecrated. Some of the food is distributed among the relatives, and the bridal couple are usually screened from view while they partake of the meal.

Simhāsana-puja, or "worship of the seat," is a rite observed by many Kanarese and Telugu castes. A *kambli* (blanket) doubly folded is spread on the ground in the *pandal*, and on it four tridents (*trisūla*) are drawn, radiating on wards at right angles to each other from a small central circle, with sun and moon in the top, left and right hand spaces respectively, and at each of the four corners a ball of sacred ashes (*vibūthi*). On the east side the bride and bridegroom take their seats, and one or more of the headmen of the caste sit opposite. In the midst of the *kambli*, *pān-supāri* is placed. A headman of

* The number of times varies with different castes.

the caste makes *pūja* to this, and then distributes the *pān-supāri* to the assembled company in the order prescribed by custom.

Another important preliminary ceremony observed by many castes is the worship of ancestors, (*Dēvaruta*).^{*} This is performed by the bride and bridegroom separately in their own houses. A *kalasam* is prepared to represent the spirits of ancestors; it consists of an earthen or metal vessel filled with water or grain and fruit, and its mouth covered with mango or betel leaves, over which a coconut is placed. The vessel is decorated externally with geometrical designs in *chunam* and ochre, placed in a consecrated spot in an inner room, and *pūja* is made to it. On the morning of the *Dēvaruta* day, the bride and bridegroom bathe and fast; in the evening the clothes to be worn during the wedding are laid near the *kalasam*; incense is burnt and offerings of cooked food are laid before it. Both bride and bridegroom offer prayers, and the ceremony is followed by a dinner to the caste-men.

An amusing ceremony known as "pot-searching" is observed by many castes after the *Muhūrtam* rites are completed. A vessel of earthenware or brass is filled with water covered by turmeric, a *kankanam* of thread is tied round its neck, and it is placed on a cushion of raw rice on a plantain leaf. The bridal couple take their seats on each side of the vessel; and two articles such as a lime-fruit for the boy and a silver bangle for the girl are thrown into it.† The boy and girl then dip their hands in the vessel and pick up what they can find, and should either pick up the wrong article, the boy the bangle or the girl the lime, the mistake is greeted by the assembled friends with good-natured chaff.

The above descriptions are by no means exhaustive nor are they of universal application. There seems no limit to variations in procedure, and several additional customs will be referred to in the sequel.

Among certain Tamil castes, *e. g.*, Konga Vellalars, Nāttans, Pallans and Uppiliyans, an important part in the marriage ceremonies is taken by a sort of lay priest, called the *arumaikkāran*, and his wife (*arumaikkāri*) who are appointed under rather peculiar circumstances. To become an *arumaikkāran* a man must be well on in years, of good character, and blessed with children, and his wife must be alive. He cannot be "consecrated" as *arumaikkāran* except at the marriage of his first, third or youngest son. Husband and wife are consecrated together. The ceremony is conducted by the barber (*nāvidan*) assisted by other *arumaikkārar*, and after it is over, the couple go and take cooked rice from a pot in which rice is boiled for their son's marriage. This qualifies them for officiating in other marriages of the caste.‡

^{*}The account which follows is taken from *E.S.M.* I, Kuruba, p. 10.

†So with Kōmatis vide *E. S. M.*, VI, Komati, p. 14.

‡For further information see Mr. F. R. Hemmingway's *Gazetteer of Trichinopoly District*, p. 104.

Another custom observed by the *Nāttāns* and Konga Vellālars is the ceremony of the *nāttu-kal*, a stone set up on the village boundary. Thither, among the *nāttāns*, the bride is carried by her maternal uncles; she is dressed in her *kūrai*, the bridal cloth presented by the bridegroom's party, but is bare to the waist, and she must close her eyes with her two hands. The *arumaikkāri* ties a piece of yarn round the stone in the sight of the bride, who sits the while on the basket (*pēzhai*) on which the *kūrai* has been brought. After this the bride is carried back to her home, and there the *tāli* is tied by the *arumaikkāri*; the bridegroom is then brought to her and the couple then clasp hands, which act in this case is considered the binding part of the marriage rites. The bridegroom afterwards visits the *nāttu-kal* himself, and is there met by the village chuckler (leather-worker), who presents him with a new pair of sandal for which he receives a small fee. In Salem District, the *nāttu-kal* is said to represent the 24 Nāds into which the Konga Vellālars are distributed. Theoretically no marriage should take place without the presence of the representatives of all the 24 Nāds, but as this rule is almost impossible in practice, the *nāttu-kal* was introduced as a substitute for the absent representatives. In Trichinopoly, the *nāttu-kal* is said to represent the Konga King, whose permission was essential to every marriage.*

RE-MARRIAGE.

The prohibition of widow-marriage is a mark of Brahmanism; even among such castes as permit the re-marriage of widows, the practice is regarded as a sort of legalised concubinage (*kattupādu*). Similarly among Brahmans and the higher castes, divorce is not recognised; but it is tolerated by castes which are less affected by Brahmanic influences. The ceremonies observed at the wedding of a widow or *divorcée* are of the simplest description; the bride puts on a new cloth presented to her by her lover, and the latter ties the *tāli* in the presence of the headman. No married woman should be present and the bridegroom has usually to pay a reduced bride price to the family of the widow's deceased husband and provide a feast for his fellow castemen.

II. Death Ceremonies.

Cremation is supposed to be a mark of "Aryan" influence; inhumation appears to be the original practice of the Dravidians. Hence the higher non-Brahman castes have adopted the Brahmanic (Aryan) practice of cremation, and in many other castes, the well-to-do cremate their dead, while the poorer families are content with the less costly sepulture. Sometimes it happens that the Vaishnava members of a caste practice cremation, while the Saiva members bury their dead. Those who die of small-pox or cholera or leprosy,

* See *Gazetteer of Trichinopoly District*, pp. 104-5

and infants are usually buried, even in castes which ordinarily practise cremation, and men who acquire a high reputation for sanctity even among the Brahmans are buried, sometimes with very peculiar rites which it would be irrelevant here to enumerate.

The death ceremonies ordinarily observed among castes which are not twice-born are as follows :—

Just before the breath leaves the body, a coin, a little water, and sometimes *tulasi* leaves, or a decoction of *tulasi* in water (*tulasi-tirtam*) are put in the mouth of the dying man.

As soon as he is dead, the head is anointed with oil, and the body is washed with soapnut and warm water and clad in a new cloth and *nāmam*, *vibūthi*, or *pottu* is marked on his forehead as custom prescribes. The widow is then decked in a new cloth and anointed, her body is rubbed with turmeric and saffron paste, flowers are put in her hair, and a *pottu* of saffron is marked on her forehead.

The corpse is laid on a bier, covered with a cloth, and sprinkled with flowers, sandal-dust, *pān-suṭpāri*; dressed rice, cakes of rice flour and jaggery are tied in the shroud; and a few grains of raw rice, and a few bruised betel leaves and areca-nuts are put into the mouth of the corpse. The spot where the deceased died is purified with cow-dung, and a lighted lamp is placed there.* The bier is usually a ladder of bamboo made for the occasion and decked with leaves. Among the wealthy it is usually surmounted with a canopy of jasmine flowers, like a *tēr* (temple processional car.)

The bier is then carried to the burial ground in procession, the order of march in each caste being prescribed by the custom. The chief mourner, (nearest male relative), walks immediately in front of the bier and the other mourners follow it. The procession is usually led by a band of musicians and a horn-blower, often of Panchama caste. Sometimes, *e.g.*, among Vakkaligas, a relative walks beside the bier strewing the corpse with pan-supari and waving incense over it.

When the funeral cortege has past out of the village, the females return home. In some castes, however, the females do not quit the house.

Half-way to the burial ground, the bier is placed on the ground and the chief mourner walks thrice round it, carrying a pot of cooked rice and strewing the rice as he goes; after completing the circuit thrice, he breaks the pot. The front and near bearers then change positions, and the procession resumes its journey.

It is often the practice for the mourners to throw cooked rice by the wayside as they go, to divert the attention of evil spirits that may be following

* *e. g.* Pallans, Nāttāns.

them. Evil spirits are also scared *en route* by the blare of trumpets or chank shells, the beating of tom toms or gongs, the jangling of bells, and sometimes by the occasional firing of a gun.

On arrival at the burial ground the chief mourner is shaved and bathed. If the body is to be cremated the bier is then placed on the pyre and the chief mourner walks round it thrice from right to left,¹ carrying on his shoulder a pot of water which he sprinkles as he goes; a few holes are punched in the pot as each circuit begins. After the third circumambulation, he breaks the pot by throwing it over his head on to the pyre, and walks away without looking back. The covering cloth,² or part of it, is taken off the corpse. Sometimes a few grains of raw rice are dropped into the mouth of the deceased, first by the chief mourner, and afterwards by the other relatives. The chief mourner, then sets fire to the pyre near the head of the corpse, and sometimes, the other mourners join in lighting the pyre.

All the mourners then repair to a tank or well and bathe. They then return to the house of mourning, where they make obeisance to the lighted lamp placed on the spot where the deceased died. They then disperse to their houses.

In the case of burials the procedure is similar, the chief mourner carrying the vessel of water thrice round the grave after the body is laid in it.

In some cases³ the body is carried thrice round the pyre or grave as a preliminary to the other ceremonies, and in a few castes the body is first taken off the bier before it is carried round.⁴

When burnt, the corpse is placed with the head towards the south or east, when buried it is usually laid head southwards,⁵ but some castes bury their dead in a sitting posture.⁶

On the second day of mourning the chief mourner sometimes⁷ visits the cemetery ground with the *purohit*, and makes offerings to the manes of the departed.

The third day is a day of great importance to all non-Brahman castes on account of the Milk Ceremony (Tam. *Pāl-sadangu*.) In the morning, the floor of the house of mourning is rubbed with cow-dung and water, and the walls are white-washed.

1 *i. e.*, in the opposite direction to the sun, keeping his left side towards the pyre.

2 The portion torn off is usually the perquisite of the Pariah who attends the funeral.

3 Among the Kunchiga and Gangadikāra Vakkaligas, the Motāti and Perdaganti Reddis and Kammas.

4 *E. g.* among the Perdaganti Reddis.

5 The south is the region of Yama, the God of Death.

6 This practice is adopted even by Brahmans in the case of men who have lived lives of great sanctity.

7 Especially Brahman's and Vaisyas, and the higher Non-Brahman castes who imitate Brahmanic custom.

The mourners bathe, shave, and don new cloths ; sometimes an offering of rice, fowls, vegetables, etc., is placed on the spot where the deceased died.

The mourners then proceed to the burning ground, an offering of cooked rice is laid on the spot where the bier bearers rested *en route* and the chief mourner sprinkles water over the remnants of the pyre, collects the bones and puts them in an earthen vessel, gathers the ashes in a heap, sprinkles milk over them, and places round them offerings* of cooked rice, cakes of jaggery and rice flour, *pān-supāri*, etc., and makes obeisance. He then watches till the crows come and eat some of the oblation.†

The vessel containing the bones is then thrown into a tank or well and the party of mourners return home. In the case of burial the oblations are placed on the grave, and the same signs are awaited.

The ceremonies observed on the days succeeding the milk ceremony differ greatly in different castes. The period of pollution lasts usually from 10 to 16 days, and closes

- (1) with the ceremonial purification of the house and of the mourners,
- (2) worship at the village temple,
- (3) the presentation of a new turban to the chief mourner,
- (4) a family meal.

As a preliminary, all the mourners bathe, shave and don new clothes. The floor of the house is smeared with cow-dung and the walls are white-washed ; the *purohit* performs *punyāha-vāchanam* and sprinkles the house and the mourners with holy water (*tīrtam*). It is a common practice to put cooked rice on the roof of the house for the crows to eat. Sometimes the chief mourner undergoes the ceremony of drinking the five products of the cow (*pañcha-gavya*).

The higher castes usually make presents in cash and kind to a few Brahmans. An offering of raw rice, dhall, salt, tamarind, chillies, milk, ghee, jaggery, etc., is sent to the *pujāri* of the village temple ; the latter bathes, puts on clean clothes, boils some of the rice and offers it to the idol. The chief mourner then, with a few near relations, repairs to the temple with the usual offerings, the *pujāri* performs *pūja*, and gives holy water and sacred flowers to the mourners, who usually partake of the consecrated food. (*prasāda*).

* The number of oblations and the placing of them varies in different castes. There are usually three offerings, one on top of the ashes, and one on either side, or, in the case of burial, one on the top of the grave, one at the head, and one at the foot.

† If the crows come readily, it is taken as a sign that the deceased was a good man and his ghost is happy and content and will trouble the family no more. Sometimes, if the crows hold off a cow is brought and made to eat a little of the rice. If the rice is not eaten, it is believed that the ghost of the deceased will return to the house of mourning and bring endless trouble on the survivors.

The ceremonial removal of the widow's *tāli* is sometimes performed on the closing day, and sometimes several days before-hand, and the rite varies in different castes.

Most castes, including even the Pariahs, perform in some form or other a *karumāntaram* ceremony in imitation of the Brahmans, the object of which is to cause the soul of the dead to enter into communion with the other ancestors of the family.† The ceremony consists in the cheif mourner doing *pūja* to one, two, or three bricks or stones, one of which represents the soul of the deceased, and the other gods; offering them balls of rice, uttering a formula praying that the deceased's soul may enter into Paradise, and throwing the bricks into a tank or well.

Some castes burn a bundle of *dharba* grass, which is supposed to represent the deceased.‡

In a few castes the bodies of unmarried girls are buried without a bier, and all ceremonies are dispensed with or the ceremonies terminate with the third day.

† Vide Dubois, p. 497 sq; *Trichinopoly Gazeteer*, p. 99; *Madras Museum Bulletin* Vol. V, No. 2, p. 84.

‡ E. g. *Panda-muttu pallis*.

THE EXACT SCIENCES IN THE VEDA

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

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It is a matter of common knowledge that the passing away of the Nineteenth Century and the advent of its eventful successor have been marked by the onrush of an impetuous stream of not unhappy surprises in almost all the departments of human activity, but, that the theme of this paper rightly claims to have as much a share in directing the course of this strenuous current of surprises in the near future as the astounding revelations of science have hitherto had as yet to be learnt. The study of Sanskrit Literature has been, for some time past, engaging the serious attention of a considerable number of learned scholars. The labours of this band of eminent men of letters have resulted in the postulation of two diametrically opposed theories although one may make bold to affirm that neither of them can yet claim to have secured a solid foundation. The opinions of the majority of the Western Orientalists as regards the nature of the Vedas have been summed up in the unambiguous remarks made by Max Muller, whom we may consider as the mouthpiece of the European Scholars of the last century. He writes "That the Veda is full of childish, silly, even to our minds monstrous conceptions, who would deny?" and "I do not claim for the ancient Indian Literature any more than I should willingly concede to the fables and traditions and songs of savage nations such as we can study at present in what we call a state of nature." The presumptive reasoning and curious logic adopted by the advocates of this doctrine to arrive at the foregoing decision have been declared to be illusory and untenable by an opposed school of zealous Vedic researchers, composed mostly of Indians, who have, consequently, postulated the theory that the Vedas embody the principle conceptions forming the body of modern Scientific Literature even though as yet no weighty evidence has been adduced in its support.

It is hoped that this paper will go a long way to clear up the differences between these two divergent schools of sincere workers, and securely establish the latter theory.

The title of this paper embraces two distinct yet interdependent statements each of which requiring a separate enquiry and exposition. Not only does it suggest that the Vedas are scientific in character, but also that they contain a knowledge of Physics, Chemistry, and such other exact sciences. Consequently this essay naturally breaks up into two parts, the first of which dealing mainly with the general nature of the Vedas and the second with

their particular contents. I propose to begin with the consideration of the scientific character or otherwise of the Vedas.

This is best done by the consideration of a few of the Sūtras or aphorisms of Jaimini who, working as a student under Vyasa the compiler of the Vedas, should be supposed to have come into direct possession of the knowledge relating to the Vedic ritual. These aphorisms were intended by Jaimini to reveal the true nature of the Vedas. "The Veda is the only authority for Dharma: the Veda is that authority and nothing else," says Jaimini in his second Sūtra. In the Purushārthānuśāsana it is laid down that "Dharma and Brahma are to be learnt from the Veda only." It is evident from these statements that the Veda is an authority for Dharma. No doubt Veda being derived from Vid, to know, means knowledge, but this does not in any way contradict the preceding remarks in as much as Dharma, as the following citations will show, is but the totality of Natural Laws. Commenting on these definitions of the Veda, Sayana observes: "To establish the former of these propositions Jaimini, in his fourth Sutra, shows that Dharma (Natural Law) is not cognizable by our senses. 'Perception is not a cause there, because perception deals with things that are, not with things that are to be.' Dharma will arise after the Yajna (scientific experimentation) producing it has been performed: it does not exist before, and perception is therefore useless here. Nor even afterwards can Dharma be apprehended by the senses. Because it is destitute of form, etc. That is the reason why it is commonly called '*adrishta*' that which is unseen. Nor is the second source of knowledge, inference, available. Why? On account of the absence of characteristic marks, you will perhaps say that joy and sorrow are such characteristic marks for Dharma and Adharma. True. But they are given as such in the Veda itself."

In another place Sayana adds thus: "And knowledge of Dharma and Brahma is the immediate use of the Veda. Nor need we doubt lest such knowledge,—like that, for example, that the earth has seven continents, or that a certain king is going somewhere,—has no relation to any end of man., Dharma is eulogised as productive objects of human desire in the following passages: 'Dharma is the support of the whole world: throughout the whole world people flock to him who has most Dharma (i.e. who knows most about the Laws of Nature). A man puts away his sin (suffering) by means of his Dharma (i.e. his knowledge of the Laws of Nature), everything rests upon Dharma. Therefore they call Dharma man's highest good.' Dharma restrains a king in act to strike, and to the weaker of two disputants brings victory as from a king's help: truly it is an object of desire to men."

What could these Sūtras and this commentary on them portray save

that the Vedas are Scientific works? Dharma has been referred to as arising "after the Yajna producing it has been performed." What is this Yajna? It is a scientific experiment. We have the text, *Uddisya devatam dravyatyago yago abhidhiyate* which means only one thing, namely, having desired (to produce) a Devata (i.e., a re-agent) the separation (of it) from a substance is known as Yaga. Yajna coming from the same root, *yaj*, is identical with *yaga* and denotes scientific experimentation. That this was the original significance attached to the word *yajna* can be substantiated by a number of passages from the Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita, but I will avail myself of only a few verses from the latter. In the 3rd chapter (verses 10-13) Krishna is introduced as saying:

"Since all action other than that relating to yajna (scientific experimentation) is a bondage to (those of) this world, Kaunteya, act only for the sake of (improving and furthering) this *yajna karma* (scientific research) having cut off all bondage.

"Formerly, having created (evolved) men together with yajnas (the means of understanding Dharma), Prajapati told them thus; 'Prosper yourselves by this yajna. Let it be sufficient unto you to fulfil all your desires.'

"By such yajna the Devas (i.e., Nature's Agents such as O_2 , H_2 , or electricity) are produced. It is these Devas that produce you. Being thus mutually produced, ye shall obtain the beat prosperity."

"The Devas obtained from yajna will bestow desired enjoyments and he is verily the thief who appropriates the results for his own self without offering them to the Devas." It is here meant that scientific investigation must not be undertaken solely for the purpose of economic excellence but for furthering the search after truth.

Now, then, it is easy for us to understand the significance of the statement that "Dharma will arise after the yajna producing it has been performed." It is the same as saying that Natural Law will be apprehended only after the experiment giving rise to it has been performed. Nor is it difficult to appreciate the sense of the import of the statement that "perception is not a cause there because perception deals with things that are, not with things are to be;" for, verily Natural Law is not cognizable by our senses. Hence has it been declared that "a means which is not learned by perception or inference is learned from the Veda; and that is why the Veda is so called." That the Veda is the record of scientific facts and principles is what is meant by statements such as that the Veda is "that which enables us to know the uncommon means to derive good and ward off evil", that "it can make clear what has been, what is, and what

is to be, what is near and what is afar off," and that "whatsoever is desired will be accomplished by (the knower of) the Veda, for whom nothing impossible exists." Needless to say that these powers are at the disposal of Natural Science alone: and when we are enjoined that the Veda possesses these properties it must needs be a record of the facts and principles of Science Natural.

The determination of the actual significance of the Devas will furnish further proof of this statement. In the Nirukta, we are informed that the Devas "are produced from *yajnas* (i.e., Scientific experiments)," that they are "numerous existences" endowed with "diverse but distinct functions", and that they are neither intelligent beings nor quite the reverse though they are often introduced "in their character of actors in a particular function, as *yajna* is only the temporary act of the man who performs it." The etymological meaning of the term is "that which plays (*krīda*)" or that which acts and re-acts a chemical reagent. Devas are not born in the manner in which either viviparous or oviparous creatures are born nor even in the manner in which those that spring from germs and plants are born. They have "no death", and "never grow old", and though subject "to the three states, namely, of production, existence and disintegration or change, are in all these conditions as virile and active as a youth aged twenty-five". They "know much" for, what they are about we do not fully know. This description is applicable only to the scientists' reagents and it must be so because the Devas were realities seen and handled by the Vedic Rishis who to do them justice, were not, as is generally supposed, superstitious, nor polytheistic, but on the other hand, if the value of these very goods be properly evaluated, it would turn out that they were scientists to their very core, possessing the Advaita religion which is the inevitable stage of advance scientific research.

The Veda is the History of these Devas i. e., the objects of physical sciences. It exists in four parts the Rig, Yajur, Sama and Adharya the last of which contains verses such as :

"He who has penetrated the secret of things, who has lifted himself up by contemplation to the knowledge of the immortal principle, who has mortified his body and developed his soul, who knows all the mysteries of being and non-being, who has studied all the transformations of the vital molecule from Brahma to man and from man to Brahma, he alone is in communication with the Pitris and commands the celestial forces."

"Nothing is commenced or ended; everything is changed or transformed. Life and death are only modes of transformation which rule the vital molecule from the plant up to Brahman himself."

These two quotations show us the kind and the extent of the Vedic

knowledge. We cannot escape here by saying that they are childish or even metaphysical speculations. The spirit, the underlying authoritative tone, and the dignity of principles advocated in them compel us to infer an experienced author who knows them to be true, having himself tested them. No children can speak in these terms nor even our leading scientists. The latter are far behind the ideal state hinted at in the above citations.

The actual relations subsisting between the Rig and Yajur Vedas is succinctly set forth by Sayana in his preface to the Rig Veda. He says: "We will grant that.....the Rig Veda comes first. Still the Yajur Veda is properly explained before it. Because the Yajur Veda is most important for the yajna (experiment) and it is in order to perform the yajna we must know the meaning of the Vedas." The point in dispute is why should Yajur Veda be explained prior to the Rig veda? And the answer is the same as that we give to the questions, why should experiments precede generalised theorem? or why should the preparation of the necessary apparatus and reagents precede the actual experimentation? The Rig Veda deals with theorems and experiments but the processes of preparing the reagents and apparatus are recorded in the Yajur Veda which is in effect a laboratory guide. Thus for instance, the theorem that Hydrogen is produced by the action of a metal on an acid occurs in the Rig Veda while the method of preparing the acid is dealt with in the Yajur Veda. This is what is meant by Sayana when he says: "'The name Mantra from Manana (inductive and deductive reasoning), the name Chandas from Chadana (covering) the name Stoma from Stavana (praising i.e., describing the properties), and the name Yajus from Yajati (to experiment).'" This being so, the body of the Yajna (i.e., the requisities of experiment) is performed in the Yajur Veda, the Veda of the Adhvaryu priest (who measures out the substances for the experiment): the hymn and lesson required by the yajna (experiment) as part of it are filled up by the other two Vedas."

Statements are made such as that "In such Mantras as *ōshadhē trasyasvainam* the persons addressed are not the things themselves but the deities (Devas) immanent in the things." This doctrine of the immanent deities which has been set forth by the holy Badarayana in his 'Abhimanivyapadēśastu' *Sutra* become intelligible only if we take Devas or deities to mean chemical reagents including the elements.

The Vedas are divided into Mantras and Brahmanas. The word Mantra is often supposed to represent something whose mental repetition produces in a miraculous way some extraordinary effect. But Sayana, relying on the authority of Jaimini, refutes this view as follows:— "But the meaning of a sentence has the same relation to the words in the Veda as in any other book. The word 'but' here

shows that Jaimini is about to reject the view that the use of the Mantras is a spiritual one, lying only in their repetition. The meaning of a sentence is arrived at by the relation of cause and effect subsisting between the words and it, and this holds good of all words whatever, sacred or profane. That being so, just as in common talk a sentence is uttered in order that it may convey its meaning, the same law must be recognised in the case of a Vedic yajna (experiment). For only the yajna (experiment) which is illustrated by a Mantra *can* be performed, *not that which is not so illustrated*. Therefore the recitation of Mantras has *one immediate use and one such only, and that is not a mystical one*. They are recited in order that they convey their meaning." And what is this meaning? It is that which enables us to successfully perform a scientific experiment for the production of material results,

By Brahmana is meant a sastra and a sastra is a prescription in connection with an experiment; or, it is an exposition of it. All knowledge that is not included in the Mantras, which contain the more important facts, is recorded in the Brahmanas. Whatever is necessary to direct to completion an experiment which is undertaken on the authority of the corresponding Mantra portion is included in the Brahmana. It, therefore, contains statements "accompanied by a circumstance in the shape of the direction to the priest (experimenter)—" or a *Parisankhya* an "implied prohibition," as in saying take acidulated water and not pure water. It contains, moreover, that knowledge which logically follows from the Truths of Nature, for instance, the theories of Karma and Maya.

That the Mantras are useless because they "at the time of yajna express no meaning any more than they do when one is learning them by heart", is the argument which Jaimini controverts in the Sūtra that "the non-communication of knowledge here is due to the fact that there is no connection with the yajna (experiment)." From this, it transpires that there is a definite meaning for a Mantra which meaning gives us a certain knowledge. The knowledge is obtained not by its mere repetition but by the performance of an experiment according to the directions embodied in it. There is no supernatural connection here. A Mantra is very nearly equivalent to a theorem in modern scientific terminology.

The reference to Mantras by a general description shows that the meaning of the text is taken into account. That is, when a verse has Agni (OXYGEN) for its deity and is termed an Āgneyi (belonging to Agni) verse, there must of necessity be a meaning in it."

The object of the whole body of Amnaya or revealed truth (Veda) is the performance of the yajna (scientific experimentation).

"Each rite (*i. e.*, the experiment enjoined in the Veda) must have its reward (*i. e.*, result). Distinctive rewards must therefore, as in daily life, refer to increase in quantity or quality." Sayana, commenting on this, writes that "Victory over (*i. e.*, acquisition of) the one or the other of the three classes of worlds, terrestrial, celestial and those in midheaven, is the fruit (result) obtained by him who performs the '*Pāsubhanda*' rite." The true meaning of this is, as will be evident later on, that the performer of the *Pāsubhanda* rite, a kind of experiment, can obtain either oxygen, or hydrogen or nitrogen. The experimenter who proceeds to experiment with these after getting them will obtain either qualitative or quantitative results. For instance if according to another rite oxygen is made to combine with hydrogen we get water, a quantitative result, or by yet a different process we may purify the oxygen and thus obtain a qualitative result. Sayana observes: "The words 'as in daily life' introduce a simile. As in daily life you may buy a Khari of rice for one Nishka, and then giving another Nishka get more rice. Or, as one Nishka will get you cotton clothes, while for two you may get silk. Here you have increase in bulk and increase in quality respectively. In the same way it must be recognised that additional yajnas (experiments) will procure for the worshipper (experimenter) increased or higher enjoyments."

"Of the Veda too, some predicate nearness to us in time. There is mention of the men who composed them. Also because we see mention made of things that are not eternal." It is here argued that since Vasishta, Kaṇva and other Rishis are the compilers of the Vedas, the latter are no more "without beginning" than the works of Kalidasa and the like writers. But Jaimini refutes it in the sutras that "the priority of sound has already been declared," "that mention of men is made on account of their teaching," and that "if it were made by man there would be no mention of the use (or the result) of the rite (experiment). Also from its identity with the rite." The first of the arguments is plain enough. No sane person can hold that any man has composed the Truth of Nature, although we know for certain that the latter is "covered" in theorems by man and that the teacher teaches them to his pupils. Knowledge is knowledge irrespective of time and space, and whether we are cognizant of it or not. None can invent knowledge but can only understand and record it. But even in this recording of scientific facts the Rishis hold that we should not attribute authorship to man, for, he does not create the sounds which make up the words used in their construction. All that he does is to understand and teach them; and it is on this account that names such as Vasishta and Kaṇva are mentioned in the Vedas. If the Veda was the creation of a poet how could the immutability and universality

of the experiments and their results be known to him ?

Sayaṇa says : " If the sentences about the '*Jyōtishtōma*' and other Yajnas were made by man, then the composition of the sentences about the '*Jyōtishtōma*' and the other rites would not have been followed by the assertion that those rites win Divi (hydrogen) and other worlds (elements). For no man could have seen that these things stood to one another as cause and effect. But the Veda does contain such an assertion. ' Let the person who desires Divi (hydrogen) experiment by the *Jyōtishtōma* yajna.' Nor can this be said to be like the speech of a mad man. For the yajna enjoined here is understood, as in the case of precepts in daily life, to be provided with the three factors, the thing to be gained, the instrument, and the method Its end is Divi (hydrogen). The Sōma (pyroligneous acid extracted by the destructive distillation of Sami wood) is the instrument used, and the introductory and the other subsidiary portions of the ritual must be observed. How can this be said to be like the talk of a mad man."

To those who argue that there is a spiritual or supernatural reward from the study or recitation of the Veda, Jaimini answers that " where there is a visible reward you must not supply an invisible one," that " the visible rewards are the mastery of the text and yajnika (experimental) perfection," that " by mastering the text knowledge of the meaning " is obtained, all these " because the injunction (that a certain yajna produces such and such results) must needs have fulfilment."

" The natural meaning gives a good sense, and there is, therefore, no occasion to force the construction " of any sentence whatsoever.

To summarise what we have thus far recorded we must begin by remarking that it has been declared that the function of the Vedas is to give us a knowledge of Dharma. The term Dharma has been proved to be synonymous with Natural Law, in as much as it is that which arises after the performance of yajna which, in its turn, is equivalent to scientific experimentation. We have also identified the Devas with the Agents of Nature on account of the identity of the attributes of the former with those of the latter. Thus we see that the Devas are produced from yajnas *i.e.*, experiments ; so are the Agents of Nature. They are invoked *i.e.*, called upon to perform some function, during the yajnas : so are the Agents of Nature. They are capable of satisfying our desires, cure our diseases, act as defensive and offensive weapons for us, and in fact it is they who have given us our present existence : such indeed are the functions of the Agents of Nature. They are " numerous existences." They are distinct agents with settled functions. They are the actors in the drama of yajna ; and the designation devas suits them best because they " play " *i.e.*, act and react. These facts although known for

centuries have not been understood in the right spirit. With our learned commentators, speculation has taken the place of rationalism, and consequently they have failed to identify the devas with the objects of the physical science, Yajna with scientific experimentation, and the Veda with scientific knowledge.

Before I proceed to deal with the second part of this paper, it is advisable that I should draw the attention of the reader to the advice given by the Rishis with respect to the interpretation and understanding of the Vedic texts. But for the prevalent contempt and disregard of the Vedic literature which have resulted partly from a misunderstanding and misrepresentation not only of the general Vedic literature but also of the unmistakable and simple statements of the Rishis which were intended to elucidate the nature of the Vedas, and partly from an incorrect estimation of the activities and abilities of the ancients, there would have been no necessity for me to make a special mention to the effect that despite the repeated declaration in the Vedas themselves of the injunctions that a material and feasible sense should be given to the words used in them, that the Vedas are the source of practical results productive of happiness and peace of mind, and that they deal mainly with the material manifestation, the majority of the Vedic scholars have failed to recognise and respect them. But even supposing that they were capable of reading their implied purport and had thus become aware of an obvious injunction to look for scientific knowledge in the Vedas, it would yet have been a Herculean task for them to decipher the Vedic verses. For, the latter capacity is decidedly unattainable unless the significance of the following preface to the "Agrouchada-parikchai"—a work dealing with the initiation into the enduring mystery of the Veda—is fully apprehended. The quotation runs thus:—"The sacred Scriptures ought not to be taken in their apparent meaning as in the case of ordinary books. Of what use would it be to forbid their revelation to the profane if their secret meaning were contained in the literal sense of the language usually employed ?

"As the soul is contained in the body,

"As the almond is hidden by its envelope,

"As the sun is veiled by the clouds,

"As the garments hide the body from view,

"As the egg is contained in its shell,

"And as the germ rests within the interior of the seed,

"So the sacred Law has its body, its envelope, its clouds, its garment, its shell which hide it from the knowledge of the world."

"All that has been, all that is, everything that will be, everything that has ever been said, are to be found in the Vedas. But the Vedas do not explain themselves, they can only be understood when the Guru (Teacher)

has removed the garment with which they are clothed and scattered the clouds that veil their celestial light."

"The Law is like the precious pearl that is buried in the bosom of the ocean. It is not enough to find the oyster in which it is enclosed, but it is also necessary to open the oyster and get the pearl.

"You who in your pride, would read the sacred Scriptures without the Guru's assistance, do you even know *by what letter of a word* you ought to begin to read them—do you know the secret of the *combination by twos and threes*—do you know when the *final letter becomes an initial* and the *initial becomes final*?"

"Woe to him who would penetrate the real meaning of things before his head is white and he needs a cane to guide his steps."

What does this signify? Does this speak of magic and myth or rational science?

With a view to incite corruption and neglect of the Vedas much capital has been made out of the fact that they should not be taught to the Sudra and the fair sex. But when we look at it coolly and with fairness the advocates of this ancient policy will be found to be in the right. The modern West is experiencing the results of not forbidding the revelation of the Vedas (sciences) to the profane; murder, bloodshed, destruction and dishonour abound in this great conflagration. Nothing so dreadful would have been possible if only the scientists had the fore-thought to curtail the improper use of the principles of Nature by refusing to impart that knowledge to the profane—a term applicable to all those who are outside the fold of Satwikas. It is not true, however, that this dictum was in force during the time when the Vedas were fully understood and the control of the society rested in the hands of scientists; for, we have references in the Upanishads to women and Sudras versed in the Vedas. It was found necessary to apply it effectively when it was feared that the unenlightened folk who generally filled the ranks of women and servants would, by their interference, contort and modify the words and sentences thereby reducing the texts to a meaningless muddle. "The Veda is afraid of the man of little learning lest he should hurt it" i. e. contort it. But for this fear there is no necessity, nor even any reason for such an injunction, and one will not wonder if the same attitude is taken up by the modern Rishis when they are driven to realise that the knowledge of the Laws of Nature is intended to further our knowledge of the ultimate basis of manifestation, not for the fulfillment of selfish ends which in their train, as is only too well known, bring but unhappily results.

The Rishis knew full well that this edict was as good as asking a curious child not to eat a delicious fruit put into its hand. Besides, they knew that

it was well-nigh impossible to recognise the Sudra or the Brahmana in man. But they had an extraordinary resource of the knowledge of human nature at their disposal which enabled them to equitably decide in these cases. The more the Sraddha and Bhakti, i. e., interest and faith, the higher the stage of the individual in the process of evolution. The ideal Brahmana is distinguished from others by his inborn spirit of renunciation, thirst for knowledge and love of humanity. The Rishis made these very qualities the judges as to whether one was a Sudra or a Brahmana. They "covered" the law with successive thick layers of to-us-uncouth garments sufficiently deceptive to bewilder and lead astray the student and thus test his interest and faith. A Sudra would be forced, by the very ungainliness of the terms in which the law is couched, to relinquish all hold on the Vedas, but a Brahmana in spite of repeated failures, would hold on because he believes firmly in the greatness and magnanimity of his ancients. It is this respect and love of knowledge that makes one a Brahmana. To such a one the Guru will "open the oyster" in which "the precious pearl" is enclosed. But we to whom no such Guru is available have to depend on the inspiration from our inner selves. We must perform severe Tapas. We must call to our assistance the discoveries of the modern scientists. We must know "the secret of combination (of elements) by twos and threes." Then we must try to know "by what letter of a word we should begin to read" the Vedic text in order to arrive at a meaning different from what is obtained by the outward form of the verse, and productive of material results. In other words we must develop that intuitive perception which would enable us to effect the correct *Padavibhaga* or analysis of sentences. Then only, we will be able to know when the final and initial letters of words as analyzed at present will become the initials and finals of the true ones. Aye, to finish this work our span of life is far too short. Yet man's is the trial.

With a view to make clear what is meant by the remark "do you even know by what letter of a word you ought to begin to read them? (the Vedas)—," I propose to consider the eighth and ninth verses of the first varga of the Rigveda. The hymn from which these verses are taken has Agni for its deity. The verses read as follow ;—

Rājantamadhvarānām gopāmṛitasya dīdivim
Vardhamānam swedame,

and

Sanah, pitevasūnave agne sūpayanobhava
Sachaswānah swasthaya.

I give here the *padavibhaga* of these two verses according to two well known commentators along with their respective translations. Sayana takes

the *padavibhaga* of the first of these verses to be :

Rājantam, adhvarānām, gopām, ṛitasya, didivim,

Vardhamānam, swe, dame.

and gives its translation as follows :—

“(We approach Agni) who shines, who protects Yajna from the mischief of Rakshasas, who reminds us of true or fixed Karma, and who increases in his own house.” On the other hand Herman Oldenberge takes Rājantam to represent the two words Rājan and tam and translates the verse thus :

“Who art the king of all worship, the guardian of Rīta, the Shining One, increasing in thy own house.”

The *padavibhaga* of the second verse is taken to be : Sah. nah, pita, iva, sunave, agne, su, upayanah, bhava, sachaswa, nah, swastaya, and the translation according to Sayana is :

“O Agni become happy-making to us just as a father is to his son, and be ready to avert our destruction ” ;—whereas Oldenberge renders it by,—

“Thus, O Agni, be easy of access to us, as a father to his son. Stay with us for our happiness.”

But in the light of what we have come to know of the nature of the Vedas, Dharma, Yajna and Devata, we are constrained to take the respective *padavibhaga* to be :

Ra, janitam, adharnam, gopa, mritasya, didivim—

Vardhamanam, swedame (Swe and dame).

and,—

Sah, nah, pita, i, vasu, unave, agne, supa, ayana, bhava, sa, cha, swanah, swasthaya.

Before I give the correct translation of these verses some of the terms used in them require explanation. *Ra* is the plural of *rah* which is a name of Agni. Now remembering that the Vedic terms are all Yaugika words, i. e., words having a derivative meaning, if we consider the signification of the synonyms of Agni, we will be able to make out the object which that word represents. Agni is called “*kṛipitayoniḥ*” because “water is the place of his birth, i. e., his source” or because “he is the origin of water.” He is called *Jwalanah* because “he inflames (a glowing spirit),” or because “he maintains himself without fuel.” *Analah* is another name which means that “by him all beings live”. There are also other synonyms of Agni which also point to one object only, namely, Oxygen. *Ra* in the above verse denotes only oxygen.

Gopa or Gopi is an Indian plant (*Echites frutescens*) used in the preparation of Sarsaparilla. The name Gopa is given to the plant because “it cherishes Go”. Go is synonymous with Prithvi and Prithvi in the Vedic chemical terminology means Oxygen, more exactly, Ozone. Gopa, therefore,

cherishes or builds up a substance whose molecule possesses, besides other constituents, three atoms of oxygen. We know that plants on land contain potassium salts, and since the substance built up by the Gopa plant is a potassium salt containing three atoms of oxygen, it cannot be other than Potassium chlorate.

Mritam is a term applied in the Hindu Medical Literature to the residue that is left after a substance is burnt, calcined, or reduced (metals). Here it is used in connection with the Gopa plant so that *Gopamritasya* means "of the ashes of the plant Gopa." There is no requirement whether of logic or consistency that prevents us from taking *didivim* to mean the filtrate that is obtained after digesting these ashes with water in order to dissolve the soluble matter, since this process involves the main idea connected with the word which means "boiled or cooked rice."

Swedame has been explained by "in thy own house." But there is yet another view of it. *Swedam* is heat. *Swedame* does, therefore, also mean "on heating." This meaning is quite independent of the other one. The fact that the word *dame* is confined to the Vedas only, has an important lesson to teach. The compound *swedame* is evidently intended to convey two meanings, (1) on heating, (2) in thy own house.

TRANSLATION :

Oxygen is produced in experiments in which (the substance obtained by evaporating) the filtrate from the digested mixture of water and the ashes of the plant Gopa is heated. It grows *i. e.*, develops in its own dwelling, (*i. e.*, Potassium chlorate.)

The next verse deals with the same subject giving us corroborative information about Potassium chlorate. Sayana and Oldenberge have mistaken the original import of the verse by having recourse to improper *padavibhaga*. For instance, they have taken *supayana* to mean "happy making" and "easy of access" respectively. In reality it is a compound of two words, *supa* and *ayana*, meaning "condiment or soup" and "house or dwelling" respectively. It therefore refers to the solution (*didivim*) of the last sloka which is extracted from the ashes of the Gopa plant. This contains the Potassium salts.

Sachasvanah is taken by Sayana to mean "be ready", and by Oldenberge to mean "stay". It is a compound of three words namely *sa*, *cha*, *swana*.

The term *Unave* comes from the root *una*, "to deduct or lessen" *i. e.*, to evaporate and thus lessen.

In his Sanskrit and English Dictionary, Wilson says that *Vasu* is the name of "a sort of salt". *Vasuka* is a "fossil salt brought from a district in

Ajmere." Amara derives this word thus :—"Vasat yasmin teja iti vasukah vasa nivase". The word *teja* which is one of the Panchabhutas is a name of Agni, and this text says that Oxygen (Agni) resides in this salt, i. e., oxygen is one of the constituents of the salt, Clearly the salt is a chlorate and since it is different from the ordinary salt it is sure to contain potassium. The term *vasu* therefore stands here for Potassium chlorate.

Swana is the sound caused by an explosion. Swasthaya is compounded of *swa* meaning "one's own", and *stha* meaning "being (what or who is)"; or in other words, the nature of the thing. Swastha is, therefore, "its constitution".

TRANSLATION :

The Potassium chlorate (*vasu*) which is the source of Oxygen is obtained on evaporating the extract (from the ashes of the Gopa plant); and it is explosive by its constitution.

This experiment with the Gopa plant was carried out by me and to my unbounded joy and satisfaction, I was able to detect Potassium chlorate in the ashes of the plant.

I shall now be able to take the reader to the second part of this paper in which it is proposed to consider a few of the particular contents of the Vedas. The reader will be astonished to find that I have here identified Agni with Oxygen. But the first hymn of the Rig Veda says no less than this. In it we find some of the properties of Oxygen enumerated. It also gives us two of the methods for preparing Oxygen; they are the electrolysis of water, and the decomposition of Potassium chlorate, which I have just explained. The Rig Veda then records the process of preparing Hydrogen by the action of iron on acetic acid which is obtained by the destructive distillation of wood. We are next informed of the combination of Oxygen and Hydrogen, through the medium of electricity, to form water. The next three verses of the Rig Veda deal with the twin-born Aswins, the Cathode and Anode rays of the vacuum tube. It is there mentioned that the X-rays, the Vedic expression for which is "Rudravartini," are generated by the impingement of the Cathode rays on the Anode. The succeeding *tricha* deals with the properties of the active radiations, and it records what would be considered the culminating discovery, namely, that the L-rays emanating from active matter are the active principles directing the evolution of organic matter from inorganic source. Thus, for instance, we learn from the Veda that the primary manifestation of vegetable life on this planet took place under the guidance of the active principles from the radio-active matter. The Rig Veda next leads us to Organic Chemistry and we are here given the method for the preparation of aldehydes from alcohols. Following this, are the verses

dealing with Indra, the highest of the Vedic Devas—the electric current,—the Voltaic method of preparing which is plainly recorded here. But I do not wish to proceed further with this blank enumeration of my discoveries. I, however, wish for an opportunity in the not distant future, to speak again on each of these astounding discoveries, when, I hope, some of the readers might gladly undertake to bear on their shoulders this precious burden which at present only forebodes any amount of commotion though not exactly opposition.

THE NOMADS IN INDIA

(A STUDY OF TURKISH RULE IN INDIA)

(Continued from our last number)

BY

PROF. M. RATHNASWAMY, MADRAS.

Succession.

ALTHOUGH the right divine to govern despotically was one of the most certain rights of the Delhi Sultan, yet it was a right he could not bequeath to his children. The right to rule in nomadic States is determined by the power to rule. The monarchical power of the nomadic despot depends on the possession of superior talents and on the capacity to guide and lead. No claims founded on prescription, no idea of loyalty to a dynasty, no enthusiasm for a cause determined the allegiance of the nomadic subject to his chief. Not to the idea but to the fact of monarchy do people in a nomadic State pay the homage of submission. The good old rule, the simple plan,—

That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can,

was attributed by the poet to nomads and applies to all classes of them. The practice of a survival of the fittest governed the mode and order of succession to the Delhi, as of all nomad thrones. The political constitution of the Mahomedan State in India knew of no theory of royal succession. The Sultanate of Delhi, like the great Khanships of the hordes of Central Asia, was not a hereditary office. As in Turkey, neither the *Sheri* nor the *Kanuns* provided for any such prop of a settled monarchy. By the time the Turks came to India the monarchical idea had indeed so far taken root that a son often succeeded to the rule and troubles of his father. But which son should do so was determined by no law, not even by an accepted and uniform method. They had no predilections for the eldest son, probably because in their Central Asian homes, it was not the eldest son who was with his father at the time of the latter's death, having generally left his home as soon as possible to fend and found a family for himself. And a practice resembling Borough English was not unfamiliar to them by which the youngest son who by reason of his age stayed with his father succeeded to the property and care of the family of his father. Howbeit, almost every succession to the Delhi Musnad was disputed. Right

at the very beginning of Turkish rule in India, its chronicles are stained by the successive quarrels of Mahmud and Masud, the sons of Mahmud of Ghazni. The son of Kutbudin Aibak, the capable founder of the Slave dynasty was dethroned after a year by his slave Altamash. The able Allaudin succeeded his uncle and patron Jallaludin only over the bodies of his young cousins whose cause was naturally, but with danger to herself, championed by their mother. On the death of Mahomad Taglak, the opposition to his nephew Firoz gathered around the claims of a suppositious son of the former. And Nazirudin, the son of Firoz would not accept with complaisance the accession of Abubaker the grandson. Sikandar, the second of the Lodis found his claims to succeed his father disputed by the opposition of some chiefs on behalf of an infant nephew. The eldest son of Sher Shah soon had to give place to the younger and abler Salim. The same sad fate dogged the last days, if it did not sadden, the whole reign of almost every one of the great Moguls. One of the chief crosses of Babar's romantic life in his ancestral home was the opposition furnished by his brothers Jahangir Mirza and Nazir Mirza. Humayun's hold in India was always feeble but the treachery of his brothers Hindal, Askari and Kamran made it still more precarious. If Jahangir thought that his peaceful accession would not be disturbed by the inconvenient existence of any brothers, the event showed that he had reckoned without his host in his son Khusuru. And his last days were saddened, if indeed, such a thing could happen to that royal swiller, by the rivalries of his sons Khurram and Shariyar. But the fratricidal wars on a dramatic scale were those that took place in the last years of Shah Jahan's life. Although Mahomedan India need not blush in the possession of such a *Kanun* as the famous one of Mahomad II of Turkey, by which the son who succeeded in ascending the throne of his father was authorised to put all his brothers to death, yet the facts of almost every succession were the same at Delhi as on the Bosphorus. The strongest, the most cruel, the most unscrupulous son managed to find a way for himself to the seat of authority. Mahomed the favourite, but unfortunate, son of Mahomed of Ghazni, was blinded and sent into confinement by his successful brother. The Sultana Razia and her husband had to be put to death before her brother could ascend a throne which she forfeited more on account of her sex than by reason of any inability to rule. The two successors of Razia also met with a violent end. And the Khilji dynasty came to power with the assassination of Kaikobad the last of the Slaves. Allaudin, the greatest of the Khiljis succeeded his patron and uncle after one of the blackest crimes in history, and he did not feel secure on the throne built on blood till he had rounded off his scheme by killing his two cousins. And if it is true that he died of poison

administered by his favourite commander Kafur, he only suffered in his person what he had meted to others. Kafur, as if his appetite had been whetted, blinded two of his master's sons and was about to kill a third when he himself formed the last term in an orgy of assassination. Finally the Khilji's themselves disappear from history in a pool of blood slaughtered wholesale by the hands of the Hindu favourite of the last of their Sultans. The first of the succeeding dynasty of the Taglaks was crushed to death by the falling of a wooden pavilion erected, not improbably, for that purpose by a too impatient heir. The reigns of the Taglaks and the Lodis and the first Moguls were not stained by the wholesale massacres of former dynasties, but the cold-blooded killing of unsuccessful or formidable rivals becomes a distressing feature of later Mogul history. Babar indeed records the custom of the Bengal Mahomedans of his time that whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne is immediately acknowledged as king. "We are faithful to the *throne*" they told him "We are faithful and obedient to it." The worship of the accomplished fact and the sanctification of the right of regicide could no farther go. These bloody contests for the throne were not due mainly to the family system of the Mahomedans. The fact of the sons of a Sultan having different mothers may have had much to do with the disputed successions. But even when there was only one mother, as in the famous instance of Shah Jahan's sons, the disputed succession was not avoided. The root of the evil lay in the political system. The disputed successions which so luridly illustrate the annals of Mahomedan history seem to be a reminiscence and relic of the old days of the Central Asian steppes, when the nomadic hordes chose their leader, not always from the same family, but ever with an eye to the business of their lives. Here and there we find even in the later chronicles scenes which remind us of the Kurultais of the old Moguls and Tartars. At the death bed of Mahomed Taglak and of Akbar consultations took place between the Sultan and his nobles as to his successors. Sometimes also, the chroniclers relate, the Sultans, as Khizr Shah in 1428, ascended the masnad with the assent of the Maliks, the Amirs the Imams and the Sayyids.

The Administration.

All embracing despot, though the Delhi Sultan was, he had neither the inclination nor the energy to exercise all the power that the theory and the nature of his position had gathered into his hands. He had neither the vision nor the capacity necessary in the head of a highly centralised system of Government. He had neither the will nor the hardihood of a European absolute ruler of the 18th century. It is indeed not strictly accurate to call the Delhi Sultanate a despotism, because this despotism was never insistent

and never felt as a rule in all branches of administration. The Delhi Sultan was a despot only when he got the chance, by fits and starts, rather than in a systematic, consistent manner. His despotism, because he would not exercise all of it, was shared with others. He had perforce to delegate his power. But the men to whom he delegated his authority were satraps rather than servants. By the necessity of his position he shared his power with his governors rather than devolved it upon them. The Delhi administration was a Government through satraps.

The main features of the satrapial form of Government, as we know them, for instance, from the history of Ancient Persia, are reproduced in the provincial Government of Mahomedan India. The governors or viceroys of the Delhi Sultans, like those of Darius, were his deputies appointed by him and dependent on him. But they held their offices on the one and only condition of remitting to the Delhi Treasury, the contracted tribute of the province, of furnishing the contracted quota of troops and supplying provisions to the royal army on the march. Apart from this, they were allowed to rule their provinces almost as they pleased. Detailed instructions or rules of service were out of the question. The Nawabs or Subedars of these provinces were despots in miniature. And as often happens with satrapial Government, the most powerful among the governors set themselves up as rulers in their own right and in their own domain, whenever the supreme ruler showed signs of weakness. Authority and power were respected by them only so long as they continued to be so in fact. The State to them was a Person, not an Idea. The notion that public servants must obey the supreme Government, whether its representative was strong or weak, was absolutely foreign to them. Weakness, they thought, was the one unpardonable sin of rulers. In a subordinate capacity the Sultan's viceroy was the commander of the army, chief judge in criminal matters, and the source of honour and authority in the province. His authority was limited by the Sultan's right or rather power to recall him, by the right which could not always be realised of appeal to the supreme ruler, and by the existence in the province of certain officials appointed by and directly subordinate to the Sultan. The financial and revenue officials known variously as Diwans, or Nizams, or Shikhdars who collected the revenue or tribute of the province from the Zamindars, to whom it was farmed, and made the imperial disbursements served as a check upon the tyranny of the provincial governor. An additional obstacle to provincial tyranny, as in the empire of Darius, was found in the official spies who were employed on a large scale by the most efficient of the Sultans of Delhi. In Ghiasudin Balban's time, spies were used to watch the fiefs of nobles as well as great cities and important and distant towns.

Allaudin employed the spy system on such an extensive scale that no one could stir without his knowledge and whatever happened in the houses of nobles or of great men and officials was immediately communicated to the Sultan. The Moguls employed public and secret newswriters or reporters. Aurangzib's spies, it was said, used to know even the thoughts of men. It is possible that many of these spies were mere official reporters like the Scribe or Royal Secretary, who according to Herodotus, was set to watch over the Persian-satrap. In fact, in the later Mogul times, we find two kinds of reporters the *wakiahnavirs* who were public, and the *Khufyananavis* who were secret reporters. But there is no doubt that many of these reporters were spies, pure and simple. These reporters or spies were the eyes and ears of the Sultan. The existence of provincial officers like the Fouzdar who was the Judge of the court of crimes, the Kotwal who was the head of the Police, and the Kazi, the Civil Judge, might be thought to have detracted from the Subhedar's vast authority. But, thanks to a kind of spoils system which obtained even under Akbar's regime, provincial governors had the right, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, of appointing and dismissing these subordinate provincial officials. So that, the multiplicity and diversity of offices was rather a help than a check to the capacity of the governors. The imperial financial and revenue officials saw only to the collection and remittance of the imperial revenue. And the danger on adverse reports from spies or reporters was extreme, and by that very token precarious; because it was not every Sultan that could take action on these reports, and the reports of spies are valueless except to put a stop to crying evils and to inflict the supreme punishment. The existence in a subah of important feudatory native Rajahs, with their semi-sovereign powers and of important Zamindars and Talukdars, who although, originally mere farmers of the imperial revenue, in course of time won for themselves a kind of seignorial jurisdiction over the people who once paid them the Sultan's taxes, but who have now become their tenants and dependents, was also a rift in the lute of satrapial despotism. But within these limits, as a rule, and in the reigns of the easy going Sultans who indeed fill the longest stretch of the Mahomedan regime, the provincial satraps were their own masters.

The appointment of the governors of the provinces was one of the chief worries of the Sultans of Mahomedan India. The selection of able and energetic men while a blessing for the provincials might lead to the Padshah's sovereignty being put into jeopardy. If they sent incompetent representatives, there was the danger of the provinces rising against their rulers and winning back their independence. The most dangerous provincial governors were the near relatives, especially the brothers or sons of the Sultan. The system of distributing appanages to the sons of the reigning Sultan was one

of the chief causes of the anarchy that distracted the reigns of even the most fortunate of the Mogul Padshahs. Even Aurungzib, who of all people ought to have known better, made a will dividing his kingdom among his four sons, thus bequeathing to his successor the troubles which only he could ride and direct. But Aurungzib at least had the statemanship to direct that a noble should not be sent as governor to a province where his own estates were placed. And in Mahomedan India the tenure under which the governors held their offices never developed into feudalism proper, because the Sultan, being the absolute owner of all land and property, the governorships or satrapies could never become hereditary.

But although they held their offices only for life, the provincial governors of Mahomedan India never had to suffer from the fear of constant supervision and control by an efficient Central Administration. The despotism of the Delhi Sultans was not the enlightened absolutism of a Louis XIV, or a Frederick the Great. The protection of the subject against every other tyranny but that of the supreme ruler, a political system which has its uses in certain stages of a nation's history—was not the inspiration of the Turkish rule in India. Royal absolutism in other countries and at other times has worked for national independence and material prosperity. Much would be forgiven the despotism of the Delhi Sultans if it had been efficient. But that the Central Administration at Delhi never was. In Mahomedan India there was never that practical and ordinary subordination of local governments to the Central power which is the note of every government worth the name. No doubt, the Sultan or Padshah was recognised as the supreme head of all and everything and he could and did punish local governors as he pleased. But the supervision was fitful, never continuous, never organised. Even under Akbar, local governors could do what they liked with the Jagirs of their provinces. Muzaffer Khan, governor of Bengal, as soon as he arrived in his province, set about depriving many amirs of their jagirs, subtracting from the lands of this man, and adding to the lands of another. The same kind of thing was allowed to happen in Bihar. Khafi Khan relates how, in spite of Aurungzib remitting a number of taxes, the royal commands had no effect and fouzders and jagirdars in remote places did not withhold their hands from their exactions. The obedience of the provincial officials seemed to vary in inverse ratio to their distance from the headquarters of the Sultan. Of course, the delations of the Sultan's reporters and spies might have served as a check upon provincial tyranny. But, as we have, said, they were effective only as a remedy for the worst and the most intolerable forms of misrule. The sword of Damocles may be a potent check upon evil conduct, but its very efficacy and the dramatic quality of its use prevent it from being

an ordinary instrument of correction. The best among the Turkish rulers tried to correct the abuses of provincial Governments by sending circulars or rescripts to regulate the conduct of the governors. What Badami relates of Islam Shah was done to a greater or less extent by the best of the Delhi Sultans. Circular orders, he says, were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings and containing rules and regulations which concerned not only the army but cultivators, merchants and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as a guide to the officers of the State. But how far were these imperial rescripts or decrees effective? What were the means of bringing delinquents to book? The provincial satraps with their vast powers, the troops at their disposal, the provincial officers under their thumbs, were a power unto themselves and could afford to flout the authority of their sovereigns. And the punishment of disobedient governors entailed very often a military expedition. The grievances of the provincials were generally brought to the notice of the supreme authority through riots or rebellions. It was not till the disease came to a head that the doctor was sent for. And the remedies that the latter applied were generally heroic. On ordinary occasions, in the daily round and common tasks of public life, there was no means by which the authority of the central power could be felt in the provinces without throwing the body politic out of gear. No division of the civil and military powers in the provinces, no royal courts before which the deeds of the Subadhar and his satellites could be tried then and there, no royal officials endowed with magisterial powers, were found in the provinces, to serve as a check upon the power of the provincial Satraps. Their authority and powers were too general, too undefined, too great to be controlled in any effective manner by the Central Government. It was not so much misgovernment as want of Government that was the crying defect of Turkish rule in India.

The hold of the supreme power upon the local Governments is only a sample of the general looseness of the Delhi Administration. Short shrift one would have thought would be the most effective way of dealing with rebels. Aurungzib, Khafi Khan complains, would not make use of punishment, and without punishment, as the chronicler reminds us the Government of a country cannot be carried on. Even Akbar would allow his emotions to run away with him, and many a guilty plotter and rebel found grace in his eyes. While killing Adham Khan on the spot for a murder, he forgave his fellow conspirators, winked at their offences and even reinstated them in their offices. On another occasion, Akbar having ordered a man's head to be cut off, let him however escape with mere exposure to public derision, simply

because the sword used in the operation broke with the blow without doing the culprit any harm. Again, at another time, for someone's sake he forgives certain rebels their offences although he is not satisfied that they will remain faithful. Sometimes he is not above resorting to childish punishments. He once punished a murderer by having him well thrashed, put into a boat, soused several times in the river and then finally imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. He had Kwaga Mansur hurriedly executed for treason on the evidence of letters discovered to be forgeries soon after the poor man's death, and the Padshah duly regrets the execution. These incidents of Akbar's life may evoke our admiration for the man, but we doubt whether they conduce to respect for the statesman. They certainly would lead us to suspect whether after all his statesmanship has not been exaggerated. And, therefore, it may not be amiss here to examine the claims that have been made by historians and tradition to Akbar's supreme greatness as a statesman.

It may be a heresy at this time of day to question Akbar's claims to statesmanship, but all that the writer of these lines has found courage enough to do is to doubt his originality as a statesman. Akbar was not unique among the Mahomedan rulers of India. He was a great ruler, but there were just as great rulers of Delhi before him as after him. Almost every one of the reforms which are his titles to originality was anticipated in the reigns of his great predecessors. Akbar was a plagiarist in statesmanship. At any rate he was not the only begetter of his reforms in administration. Others had anticipated him. The regulation by which Akbar hoped to prevent the frauds of Mansubdars in supplying their levies had been already tried by Sher Shah. The payment for military and other services in money in lieu of lands was not an innovation of Akbar but a safeguard which had been thought of by Allaudin and Islam Shah. The famous land reforms of Akbar, which comprised the measurement of the agricultural fields, the fixed and regular assessments on the crops, were only repetitions with some improvements of Firoze Shah, Taglak's and Sher Shah's devices for ensuring a regular revenue. Sher Shah also showed Akbar the way to a tolerant treatment of Hindu subjects and to those material improvements like construction of trunk roads, caravanserais, and canals which, from the impression we receive from the run of historians, would be the peculiar results of Akbar's magnanimous statemanship. Akbar introduced no changes in the provincial administration which had not been the invention of his great predecessors. The Shikhdar, the Treasurer, the Karkun of Sher Shah who were appointed as checks on the power of the provincial amirs correspond to the Dewan, the Amalguzar and other revenue and financial officials appointed by Akbar. Sher Shah it must be remembered was a near predecessor of

Akbar and the memory of his works and the assistance of his officials could always be drawn upon by a clever successor. It is indeed time that justice was done to the man who has a higher claim to originality of invention, albeit less fortunate in his time and in his chroniclers, than him who only entered into and built upon the legacy of another. The historical fame and position of Akbar is indeed one of the mysteries of history. An attempt at explaining it will be made when we come to consider the religious position of the Turkish rulers of India and the tolerance of Akbar which is indeed the chief prop of the popular Akbar cult.

The unoriginality of Akbar's statesmanship ought to prepare us for one of the saddest features of the Turkish regime, namely the absence of continuity in the administration. Reforms in the administration undertaken by a ruler had to be repeated by successors even at a short remove. We have seen how the land and Mansabdar reforms of Akbar had been tried by Sher Shah. The shrewd reform of Allaudin to pay for services in money never took root. Firoz Shah Taglak came and reverted to the older practice of assigning lands as remuneration for officials. It may be that these reforms had to be repeated because of the changes in dynasties. But even members of the same dynasty worked at cross purposes. Everything depended on the life of the Sultan and lasted only as long. So that everything had to be done *de novo* by Sultan after Sultan. There was no continuity in the administration even during the rule of a single dynasty. Mansubdars and other office holders had to be confirmed at the end of every reign and it was considered a great favour if that was done.

Besides the looseness of the Government there were other features of the Delhi Administration which attest its primitive nomadic character. The confounding of the Place with the State is a frequent characteristic of primitive Governments. The officials of Delhi Central Administration were often the household servants of the Sultan. In the reign of Firoz Shah we find the officials of the State Exchequer, the Diwan-i-Wizarat, keeping an account not only of the land revenue but of the expenditure of the Palace Karkhanas. Akbar's Prime Minister was also the head of his kitchen. The giving of presents to officials for the easy and rapid conduct of business has been called hard names by Christian travellers and modern historians. But it is doubtful whether they could be called the bribery and corruption of more civilised and sophisticated states. These presents, it must be remembered, were given in public and even to the Sultan himself. The Great Mogul, it came to the notice of Montesquieu, never received the petitions of his subject, if they came with empty hands. The presents were probably a kind of crude, primitive registration fee. The danger lay not so much in their character, as

in the fact that they were not regulated. The greed of the official and the ability to pay of the subject were the only limits on the amount of these official *douceur*. Their universality and recognised legality explain the force and virulence of the habit in modern India, and the lawful *mamool* of a thousand years must not be expected to surrender of a sudden to the attacks of a superior administrative morality. The nomadic character of the Turkish rule is especially seen in the part played by camp-life in the Administration. The Sultan and his Satraps seemed to be always on the move. And this, not only in the earlier, unsettled times but right in the reigns of the more fortunate of the Mogal rulers, in the reigns, say of Akbar and Jahangir, and not only for purposes of war but for those of administration. The tent is the natural home of the nomad and it is not surprising that he loved to govern from there. It was an important instrument of government, as well as one of the chief insignia of royalty. Nomadic also was the frequent change of capital. The moving of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad has arrested the attention of historians, as if it was something unusual and peculiar to the character of Mahumad Tugalak, a Sultan, it must be confessed he was more sinned against than sinning. But steadier heads than Mahomad Tugalak's planned arbitrary changes of capital in Mahomedan India. Delhi and Agra were indeed alternative capitals throughout the Turkish period, as Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis amongst the Ancient Persians. But other cities also shared the honour. Jaunpur and Lahore were for a time the capitals of Akbar's dominions. And the futile attempt of Taglak was imitated by AKBAR in the founding of the unfortunate city of Fatehpur Sikri. Sher Shah finding that old Delhi was far from the river Jumna demolished it and founded a new city on the banks of that river. The seven cities of Delhi were not the outcome of the historical development of a great city but the monumental result of the vagaries of rulers cursed with the restlessness of the nomadic nature. There is yet another feature of nomadic governments which we find reproduced in the Turkish administration; and that was the large place filled in it by members of a politically superior race. As the secretaries and scribes of Attila were renegade Greeks and Romans, and the most famous Viziers of the Turkish Empire like Ibrahim Ali, Rustum Pasha, —the famous ministers of Solyman the Magnificent—were circumcised and converted Christians, so the officials of the Delhi administration were mostly Hindus. From Tilak the son of a barber, the adviser of Masud of Ghazni to Todar Mall and the Hindu officials, less famous but just as useful of other reigns, a race of ministers Hindu, or if Mahomedan, of Hindu origin like Mahbut Khan minister of Firoz Shah and Hemu the minister of the last of the Afghans, were the chief support of the civil Administration of the Delhi Sultans.

Here also, as in other matters Akbar did nothing unique in giving his confidence to Hindu ministers.

Law.

Ever since the work of Savigny it has been one of the commonplaces of Legal Science that Law, just as much as language, manners, and politics is the expression of the life and character of a people. And of all the branches of human activity, in none have the Turks in India borne to a larger extent the mark of their original character than in their Law. It was the criterion as well as the consequence of their culture. The nomads are a semi-civilised people, and their law as well as their other public activities, bears the marks of their halting civilisation. Their imperfectly organised and loosely articulated political society corresponds to an imperfect undeveloped system of Rights and Law. In the various aspects of the life led in law by the Turkish conquerors of India, we shall see illustrated the chief characteristics of their primitive and imperfect civilisation.

Marriage.

Most nomads are polygamous. The existence of this almost universal practice has been accounted for by various causes. Montesquieu attributed it to climate and economic utility. But this would not account for the prevalence of the custom among the nomads of different countries and different ranks, among the rich and the poor, as well as among the Bedouin and the Tartar. The fact seems to be that the nomad as pointed out by Vollgraff looks upon woman, not as a personality, but as property. She is not a being, but a material thing to be owned and handled like other material things. Being necessary to man in his sexual life, she is the form in which the idea of property is first introduced to him. That accounts for the rich man adding to the number of his women, and for the poor man having only as many as he can support. That accounts also for the immuring of the women common among nomads. Being property that might be coveted by others, and appealing to instincts more imperious than even the instinct of property, women must be covered up and protected against the gaze of the men. It was not so much any extraordinary sensuality or wickedness that dictated the polygamy and the purdah of the Turkish conquerors of India. If it was a matter of mere lust, they would have substituted prostitution for polygamy like the more civilised monogamous races. But woman is one of the way in which the nomad realises his instinct for property, and Mahomedans never arose above this ancestral idea.

Property.

On one part of the legal system of the nomad, does his semi-civilisation impress itself more than in his attitude to property. The nomad believes only

in moveable property, that which he can carry with him in his wanderings. He cannot carry land with him; and therefore he cannot conceive of individual property in land. The only proprietary right in land that he is advanced enough to accept is the joint property of the whole tribe or horde in its pasture fields. It was this ancestral view of communal or joint property that in the course of time developed into the theory that the nomadic chief or sovereign was the sole owner or proprietor of all lands conquered by the nomadic hordes. The communal property of the tribe was so to speak, concentrated and represented in the hands of their chief. This denial of individual property in land was sometimes extended to even moveable property. And the Delhi Sultans were only true to their nature when they claimed to be the only absolute owners of property in their realms. Others were so by sufferance or by force. It was especially in their abrogation of individual property in land that the nomad Turks in India worked a social revolution, bigger with consequences than any other of their political acts in the country. It was they that introduced into India, the theory that the ruler or the State was the supreme Proprietor of land, the supreme Landowner in the country. India before them knew of no such theory of the proprietary rights of the State. The ownership, whether of individuals, families or corporations was recognised. The State was never the proprietary octopus that it was in Mahomedan India. Manu recognises the right of ownership of the man who clears a forest in the land of that forest. He places this ownership on the same footing as that of a man in the deer which he kills, which must be absolute, if it is to have any meaning at all. Stealing land, he says, is equal to stealing gold. The heirs of a man inherit land as well as the rest of his estate, without any reference being made to the ruler or State. It is only on the failure of all heirs that the property, land not excluded, of any man except a Brahman can accrue to the King. And in the case of a Brahmin not even that. The rules of partition apply to land as well as to other forms of property. Seizure of property, Manu declares, is one of the three most pernicious vices produced by the wrath of the king and which he must carefully shun. The Arthashastra tells us of some instances of limited proprietorship in land and of estates which were inalienable but the implication is that as a rule land was held in absolute private proprietorship. Of course, land in ancient India was subject to taxation like other forms of property. But taxability of land was never construed into the State proprietorship of land. The king as representative of the sovereignty of the State many have had, and exercised, in the last resort, and in extreme cases the right of confiscating or alienating land. But this he did as sovereign, not as landlord. The State in Hindu India was

never the chief Landlord, the particular owners of lands being only its tenants, paying it a rent and depending for continuance in their right of possession on its will. It was with the coming of the Turks that the new and revolutionary theory of state proprietorship of all land came to be introduced into India. The nomadic conqueror, as we have said, gathers into his keeping the ancient tribal ownership of all lands conquered by the horde. The ancient Persians looked upon the whole of Asia, as their and their King's own property. This nomadic law has been consecrated and perpetuated by the Koran, according to which all the property of the conquered becomes the property of the conquerors, the erstwhile owners becoming mere farmers or tenants, and the supreme ruler, the Khalif or Sultan, became the supreme landowner. It has been so in Turkey, it was so in Mahomedan India. Sher Shah put the case as it was in India when he said "The country of India is completely at the disposal of the King, nor has anyone else any share in it, nor is there any regard to elder or younger or to kindred." After the capture of Rantambhor in 1299, Allaudin ordered with one stroke of the pen that wherever there was a village held by proprietary right (*milk*) in free gift (*inam*) or as a religious endowment (*wakf*) it should be brought under the Exchequer, that is, should be converted into state tenancies. Even under Akbar orders were passed that the rent free lands throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of *aima* or *madad-i-ma'ash* (*i. e.* lands held on the tenure of prayer offerings) *wakfs* or pensions should not be considered valid, and that the revenue officers should not recognise them until the Sadr had approved the grants. Badaoni who is our authority for this fact adds that only the influential and bribe givers succeeded in getting their inams confirmed. Whatever rights of property there were had to be confirmed at the beginning of every reign. Jahangir indeed tried to improve this state of things by decreeing that property, whether of infidels or of Musalmans, should be allowed to descend in the ordinary course of inheritance without interference from the officers of the State. But how valueless this reform was is proved by the fact that Aurungzib had again to abolish the custom of confiscating the estates of deceased subjects, which, he says, was constantly practised in the time of his predecessor. However, Aurungzib himself issued orders that everyone in Hindustan who owned a house or garden must produce his deeds. It was to see whether they all held under a firman or rescript, for no one could hold any such property without a confirmation and a grant in writing. And it was also Aurungzib who confiscated the properties of Ali Mardan Khan and Raja Jai Singh although the latter was granted this property in perpetuity by Shah Jahan. The evidence of native chroniclers, as well as of foreign travellers, goes to confirm the con-

clusion of Bernier that in Mahomedan India as in Turkey and Persia, "they had no idea of the principle of *meum* and *tuum*, relatively to land or other real possessions, having lost that respect for property which is the basis of all that is good and useful in the world." The concentration of all rights to property in land in the hands of the Delhi Sultan, which made him the supreme Landlord, accounts for the pressure of the State upon land and the benevolent interference with land of the best of them like Sher Shah and Akbar. The surveys and settlements, the assessments and valuations of crops which necessitated the coming down to the country side of an army of officials were the fine fruits of the theory of the State ownership of land. This insistent pressure on the land and the country people was only an extension of the practice followed in Hindu times on the domain lands of the King. With the adoption of the principle that the ruler was the owner of all land there came to be laid upon the State all the rights and duties of a landlord. The State began to be governed as if it were an estate. A more efficient government than that of the Delhi Sultans might have played well its part. But as a matter of fact the position of universal landlord was too large for the Delhi Sultans. However that may be, this theory, of the State being proprietor of the land, had taken such strong root in the country that even a people like the English used to a different state of things, could not resist the temptations of adopting it. This *damnosa hereditas* which British rule received from its predecessor has lain heavily upon it and has made it for some time at least forswear one of its holiest traditions, the belief in private property in land. But English Law could not long do without one of its most fundamental notions and it is gratifying to note that, whatever the tenure under which land is held, private property in land is coming back to its own in India.

The cavalier attitude of the Delhi Sultans to real property, was sometimes extended to even personal or moveable property. Sikandar Lodi had to pass a decree that if a noble died, his money and other effects should be divided among his heirs according to the rules of inheritance. Sher Shah was obliged to order that merchants dying on their journey should not be deprived of their goods by the provincials, as if they were unowned. And European travellers of the times of the Moguls allude to the practice of provincial governors confiscating the effects even of deceased foreigners. The fact is, even in the case of moveable property, it was not the right to possess, but the fact of possession that was recognised. In Turkish rulers, as among all Nomads, the sense of property was not highly developed. As the nobles of Firoz Shah said to him, the offences against property are only

venial, while those against authority are grave, and that, while the latter may never be forgiven, the former might be excused.

Contract.

Nomadic society being simple, its commercial life also is very simple. Buying and Selling are the only kinds of contract recognised. The more considerable and developed commercial devices that we hear of in Mahomedan India like the *hundis*, and paper money, were probably borrowed from the Hindus. The Mahomedan prohibition of interest like that of the Middle ages, dates from a time when capital did not exist and persisted among the ruling race in India.

Crimes.

Not only in Civil but in Criminal Law, nomadic society proves its primitiveness. It is with the progress of civilization that the number and the classes of crimes increase. The ideas of social justice and duty being crude among nomads, the crimes they recognise are few in number and not the same as in those of civilised societies. Adultery, possible only among free men and women, was comparatively unknown in Mahomedan India on account of the restraints of polygamy and the *purdah*. Theft was indeed a crime, but not so severely punished as among more industrial societies.

Legal Procedure.

The distinction between Civil and Criminal courts did not obtain in Mahomedan India. The Sultan was the fount of justice, and he dealt it either in person or through his deputies. The Padshah sitting at a window of his Palace, ready to render justice to all and sundry is no doubt a pleasing picture, but its simplicity is its condemnation. What Akbar and Jahangir did at Delhi, Attila the Hun used to do in his capital at his palace gates, and Bedouin chiefs and Central Asian Khans do the same to this day before their tents. The Sultan delegated his judicial powers to a Chief judge called in Mogul times the *Sadar-i-Jahan* and in the provinces it was the *Kazi* who was the Chief judge. A naive confusion between the offices of Judge, Magistrate and Superintendent of Police prevailed. The *Kazi* was Judge in civil as well as criminal matters, the *Kotwal* was police officer as well as Magistrate, the *Fouzdar* was invested with police duties as well as criminal magisterial jurisdiction. The procedure in civil as well as criminal courts was as simple as possible. In civil cases the plaintiff went up to the Sultan or to the *Kazi*, cried for justice, offered some money as a kind of registration fee, stated his case, and after witnesses were heard, and other evidence examined, all according to the pleasure of the judge, got justice according to his luck. In criminal cases, a similar procedure was followed, although, the *Kotwal* prosecuting, the procedure was shorter and sharper than in civil matters.

The proceedings on the murder of Prince Murad Baksh, the unfortunate brother of Aurungzib would seem to prove that even prosecutions for murder were private, not public, and therefore could be waived by the aggrieved party. But in matters of crime, the catching of the criminal was a more important and a more difficult proceeding than his trial. Regular expeditions had to be organised before influential criminals could be caught and brought to trial. In 'Aurungzib's reign, a Pathan criminal braved the King's forces of 12,000 men who had to retreat before his attacks more than once before he was put to death. Trial on the spot was a favourite judicial device with the Delhi Sultans. In Shah Jahan's time, the local authorities were recommended to try offenders on the spot where they had committed their offences. Aurungzib is said to have been responsible for the legal maxim—Cases about land should be tried on the land itself. In criminal matters, a kind of communal responsibility was sometimes enforced, as by Sher Shah, when he made the village Mukadams answer, even with their heads, for the crimes proved to have taken place within their villages.

Punishment.

The punishments employed by the Turkish rulers of India were not free from the defects of primitive crudeness. Some of the best of the Delhi Sultans were savage in the forms of punishment to which they resorted. Babar on the occasion of an attempt to poison him, ordered his taster to be cut to pieces, the cook to be flayed alive, and the scullions of the kitchen to be trampled to death by elephants. Adham Khan was not the only criminal punished in hot blood by Akbar. The same fate befell a man named Mard Azmai Ashak whom Akbar struck with a spear when he was caught and brought before the Padshah. The savage sentence passed by him upon a luckless lamplighter is well-known. Even the soft-mannered Jahangir once had the chief of a gang of thieves torn to pieces by dogs, although he issued a decree forbidding the cutting off of the noses and ears of criminals. The old nomadic ideas of retaliation and private revenge still persisted even in Mogul times. Akbar himself confessed that he had recourse to the retaliatory punishment in his conduct towards Adham Khan. In the case of the murder of prince Murad Baksh, Khafi Khan relates that the eldest son refused to demand satisfaction for his father's death and Aurungzib rewarded the son for not enforcing his claim of blood. A kind of wergeld *i. e.*, money payments for atoning for murder was recognised in the time of Akbar and the murderer became the slave of the man who had paid for the murder.

In spite of the code of law which the Koran gave Mahomedan India and the decrees passed by Sultan after Sultan, it was the individual will of the Sultan and governor that reigned supreme. The nomad

love of animal freedom and hatred of discipline made the reign of Law difficult if not impossible. Not Public Law, but the caprices, albeit noble and generous of the Ruler, governed the legal relations of men. Allaudin was only giving expression to a general belief when he laid it down that all questions must be looked at from the point of view of politics, and not of Law.

Taxation.

The Nomadic conqueror is the absolute owner and proprietor of all lands and goods of the conquered. The rights of private property of none else are recognised. The Delhi Sultan being as we saw, the sole proprietor of everything belonging to his immediate subjects, they held whatever property they were allowed to hold, as his tenants or usufructuaries. So that it cannot be strictly accurate to say that there was any system of taxation in the Turkish State in India. Taxes in politically advanced countries, are payments made by the people, for the maintenance of the State. But here, the payments made by the subjects of the Turkish conquerors, were rather rents paid for the use of property which they were allowed to use. They were a tribute rather than taxes. And this tribute was chiefly composed of a rent on land which till then in Hindu India had only paid a tax. Besides this tribute from the subject Hindus, the members of the ruling race paid a kind of tithe called *ooshr*, in accordance with the injunctions of the Koran. There were other primitive sources of revenue as presents, alms, and supplies of provisions to Sultan and Governor on the march or on their incessant progresses through the country. The poll-tax levied on Hindus, called the *Jaziya*, which had had its counterpart in the Turkish empire, although primitive, was not felt to be oppressive. The price for the payment of this tax was religious liberty for the Hindu and there have been heavier prices to pay for toleration than special tax. The collection of these revenues also was primitive. They were farmed out in the first place to the provincial governors who in their turn farmed them to Zamindars and Talukdars. But this practice was abolished by Akbar, thanks to Todar Mall. The other source of revenue that we find especially in Mogul India like customs duties, octroi duties, tolls, harbour dues, were probably taken from the Hindus. An interesting but difficult question that arises out of the subject of the revenues of the Delhi Sultans is the pressure of taxation upon the people. Comparative statistics do not help us in this matter. For after all, the pressure of taxation is to be measured not by the amount of taxes but by the taxable capacity of the people. And that we have no means of judging. All that we can go by is the impression which the condition of the people made upon the travellers of those times. And the impression that we receive from their accounts is not so much of the weight as of the uncertainty and irregularity of the demands made upon the people by

the Sultan and his governors. The hopelessness of the people arose from other causes than from heavy taxation; at any rate it was not so much the incidence as the object of the taxation that made it look, and at certain periods, really so oppressive. The main object of the financial system of the Turkish regime, as of the ancient Persians, was to make the subject people support the life, and the luxury of the ruler and his court. The accumulation of treasure was a powerful motive with many of the Delhi Sultans, Akbar included. Not the ends of the State, but the needs of the Palace, settled the limits of taxation. A few of the greater Sultans like Firoz Shah, Sher Shah, and Akbar spent some of the money of the people on public works like trunk roads, canals and tanks. But the majority of the good Sultans poured what they did not spend on themselves, on the building of such costly luxuries as the Kutub Minar, Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj. Not that we find fault with them for being so individualistic. There is much to be said for limiting the number of duties of a Central Government. Not the least advantage of such a limitation is that it means a comparatively light taxation, and certainly the pressure of taxation in the Mahomedan period would have been much heavier than it actually was, if the Delhi Sultans had been bitten with the newer theories of the competence and the functions of the State.

(To be concluded in our next No.)

The Great Sage of Persia and His Followers

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(*A Paper Read before the Mythic Society.*)

The subject is a vast one, but an endeavour will be made here to summarise, in as concise a manner as possible, all the interesting events pertaining to the history and religion of ancient Persia. By the term Sage of Persia, I mean Zarthusstra or Zoroaster, the prophet of Iran who has given the Parsis, their existing religion.

While studying the histories and religions of ancient nations, though one is struck with the pomp, show and display of wealth by the great cities of the past; yet one must look deeper to search for the esoteric meaning of a nation's progress. The historic mission and influence of a nation should be judged by its great ideals embodied in its religion, just as the intrinsic worth of a person, can be more or less summed up, by observing the high level, to which his inner self has reached in moments of uplifting, and not by the lowlands through which existence usually plods on.

Unfortunately, the usual mythic dross and super additions of theological dogmas clinging to a religion, obscure the first pure ideals which are the essentials upon which a religion should be judged.

The legendary period of Persian history begins far back in the mists of time. Mixed up with legendary tales there is always a certain amount of truth which discloses to the enquiring mind, not only some authentic history but also the general character and the mentality of the nation as a whole.

The Capital of Balkh.—The founder of the Persian nation was Kaimour who established a capital at *Balkh* (67° Long E. 37° Lat. N. approximately) in eastern Eran, Iran or Persia. Iran is the native form of the folk name which is familiar to us in derivatives of the Indian Arya. The word Iran is merely another way of saying Aryan.

The Medo-Persian Empire.—To come to the subject matter in hand, I am afraid we will have to pass over the regions of Feridoon, Zal, Rustam, Sohrab and Siawux, till we come to the reign of *CYRUS THE GREAT* who defeated Astyages to become the ruler of the united Medo-Persian empire, and the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty (549 B.C.). While speaking of the rulers of Ancient Persia, I must mention the names of the two heroes Sohrab and Rustam, which stand prominent in the legendary history of

Persia. Many must have read the stirring romance as described in the original *Shah Nameh* by the Persian Poet Firdausi or in "*Sohrab and Rustam*" by Mathew Arnold.

It may be added that the Medes were the people of Media, a vast tract of country just below the Caspian Sea, ruled over once by the King Astyages, who as stated above was defeated by Cyrus, the leader of the Persians who had been fretting for a long time under the Median yoke.

Historian's Difficulties.—Before going much further it should be explained that the historians, (at least those striving for truth and facts) have had many knots to unravel regarding the events which have taken place in Persians history. It had often been found difficult to distinguish between facts that can be established and myths owing to the great diversity in the records of Persia, as given by her own historians, and those of Greece. The proper names of the kings were the first to cause confusion, as an example the Persians think of Cyrus (in English language) the great, as Kei Khushroo or Kur; the Greek and Romans as Kurus.

Similarly we have the names Dara Gustasp, Ardeshir, and Iskendar etc., in Persian, referred to by Greeks as Darius Hystaspa, Artaxerxes and Alexander. I will give briefly a chronology of the Achaemenian dynasty. The periods have been deduced, after many researches by great scholars of Persian history, and they are the best we can take at present as a guide.

The Achaemenian Dynasty.

BEFORE CHRIST.—

Cyrus (the Great) 558—530 King of Medo-Persian Empire. Founder of Achaemenian dynasty. A great and famous King.

Cambyses. 530—522 Becomes unsound in mind at latter end of reign and kills himself.

Throne usurped by a Magian Priest Gaumata, who impersonates the dead king's brother (whose murder was kept a secret from the public) for a short while. Darius a kinsman of Cambyses corners Gaumata and kills him and regains the throne.

Darius Hystaspa 522—486 A great monarch and organiser. Unsuccessful attempt to invade Greece.

Xerxes. 486—466 Faint traces of weakness in the empire begin to shew themselves.

Artaxerxes

Longimanus 466—426

Darius Nothos 426—406

Artaxerxes

Mnemon 406—363

Artaxerxes	
Ochus	363—341
Arses	341—338
Darius Codomanus	338—330 Conquered by Alexander the great of Greece, B.C. B.C. who in a drunken fit, burns the city of Persepolis and the Zoroastrian Scriptural records.

Religion of Ancient Persia.—Now just a few words regarding the religion which must have existed during the period before the coming of Zarathushtra.

There was once a time when the ancestors of the Iranian Parsis and the Aryan Hindoos resided as an undivided nation, somewhere to the east of the Caspian Sea, on the hilly, wooded and well-watered high tableland. The history of the earliest period shews the Aryans, as pure Nature worshippers. The beneficent powers of nature viz., the heaven, all pervading light, fire (lightning), the sun, earth, the wood, the waters were all of them treated by them as some forms of divine beings. Oh the other hand, the harmful powers such as darkness and drought were foes and demons.

The oldest known and one of the most exalted of Aryan gods is Heaven. The Rig Veda gives the sanskrit name as Dyaus and later on as Varuna. Dyanus is the word used in the sanskrit to designate visible sky, while Varuna slightly changed into Ouran of Greek means even now "sky" or "Heaven." For greater details of all these I must refer to you to the books of the scholars of ancient history and religion viz., Haug, Max Muller, Ragozin, West, Dermestester, Moulton etc. I must be brief here.

Mr. Ragozin states "Although the Indo-Iranian religion was frankly polytheistic, yet a certain supremacy seems to have been attached to the Sky god, and he is pre-eminently entitled, in the oldest portions of the Rig, both under the name of Dyâus and that of Varuna, *Asura* (Lord); Vâruna, requently also receives the epithet of All knowing, Omniscient."

Then came the schism between the Aryans. The theories propounded in connection with this, cannot be discussed here as it forms a lengthy and deep subject by itself.

"H" replaces "S" in *Asura*.—The term "Asura" becomes by the law and custom of Iranian pronunciation, "Ahura", still retaining the same sense i.e., Lord. There is the same exchange of letters in Greek and Latin viz., Greek hepta becomes Latin septem (Seven).

The cultus of "Ahura" to which we will have to refer to later on must have been in existence long before the traditional date of Zarathushtra. The worship was essentially that of great Nature gods opposed to the worship of *Devas*.

The joint term—"Ahura-Mazda" and its origin.—Now along with Ahura

creeps in another word viz., "Mazda" (at some period or other) thus forming a joint word "Ahura-Mazda" which may be understood to mean "the Lord of Great knowledge." The study of the origin of the joint term Ahura Mazda has brought forward many opinions, and I give below a couple of them which will be found interesting. Professor Hommel has discovered the name "Assura Mazas" in an Assyrian Inscription of the reign of Assurbani-pal, and this has shewn that, the name may have existed long, or sometime before at any rate, before the coming of Zarthushttra,

Another authority compares the term "Mazda" to the Vedic "medhas" meaning wise.

We may take it for granted then, that the worship of "Ahura Mazda" existed long before the coming of Zarthushttra and that the ancient religion acknowledged "Ahura Mazda" as the one Supreme Being amongst all other great Nature gods, denounced "Lie", and did not accept Idolatry. Mazdyasni, "Poriodakeshi" also, are the names given to the religion in which Zoroaster was born.

Varuna Mitra.—*En passant*, I might mention that the name Ahura is also found coupled with Mithra (light) in a manner which resembles the Varuna Mitra of the Rig Veda. Amongst the holy books of the Parsis, is a Yesht (sacrificial invocation) called Mithra's Yesht or Mihir Yesht.

The Coming of Zoroaster.—This leads us now to the coming of Zoroaster, a man who has risen to lasting fame, and who established a great religion and whose followers to-day are the community known as the Parsis. With reference to the date when Zarthushttra lived and taught, there has been a great diversity of opinion but now a more general agreement is beginning to prevail between the views of the scholars (and there are several) who have made a profound study of the subject. It is impossible to quote here all the scholars, their arguments and the sources.

The Period of Zarthushttra's Appearance.—Professor Bartholomac writes in his *Altiranische Worterbuch* "While I hold fast to Zarthushttra's historical character, I regard it as hopeless to determine precisely the period of his appearance."

Mr. R. H. Mistri (a Parsi author) gives in his book the probable age of Zarthushttra as 3,442 B. C. On the other hand, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia University) says :—

"To draw conclusions,—although open to certain objections, still, in the absence of any more reliable data or until the discovery of some new source of information to overthrow or to substantiate the view, there seems but one decision to make in the case before us. From the actual evidence presented and from the material accessible, one is fairly entitled, at least, upon the

present merits of the case, to accept the period between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B. C. (perhaps still better, between the middle of the seventh century and first half of the sixth century B. C.), or just before the rise of the Achæmenian power, as the approximate date of Zoroaster's life."

It is due to the assumption that Zarthushttra rose just before the rise of the Achæmenian power, that I have drawn the reader's attention, just above particularly, to the founder of this great dynasty.

Zarthushttra, King Vishtaspa, Cyrus and Darius.—To avoid confusion in the minds of the readers later on, I intend to mention a few facts beforehand.

(1) Prophet Zarthushttra flourished in the time of a King called Vistaspa or Gushtaspa, long before the great and mighty King of Persia viz. Cyrus (558—530 B. C.) saw the light of the day.

(2) Formerly historians unfortunately mixed up the two Kings, Vistaspa and Darius, causing confusion. Now it has been established that these are quite different persons and Darius Gushtaspa came long after King Vishtaspa or Gushtaspa (of Zarthushttra's time.)

(3) Cyrus and Darius were mighty Kings of Persia, and strange as it may seem, their carved records on clay cylinders, and great rocks (Behistan, Hamadan etc.) show that they never seemed to have heard about Zoroaster. From the inscriptions on the rocks we know that they followed the "Mazdayasni" religion. Evidently the light of the teachings of the prophet had dimmed for the time being, or may be, it was probably due to the disciples being few in number and engaged in one corner of the great country or may be that such deep philosophic teachings must have travelled very slowly due to internal turmoils which may have existed then.

(4) It is only in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (466 B. C.—426 B. C.) that we see the Zoroastrian teachings accepted by the majority of the country. As stated before, it should be noted that religion of the early Achæmenian Kings has created great controversies amongst the savants.

Zarthushttra's Native Place.—The question of Zoroaster's native place is one which has been much under discussion, because we do not quite know whether his birthplace and early home was also the chief scene of his activity later on. Professor Jackson says "if we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of *Atropatene* or *Adarbaijan* to the west of Media, or even more precisely the

neighbourhood about lake Urumiah. There is ground further more, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Adarbaijan a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains." The approximate long. and lat. of the locality Adarbaijan or Azarbaijan is 46°E. and 37°N.

Zarthushttra's Parents.—Zarthushttra's father's name is Porushaspo, and it is mentioned several times in the Avesta (the holy book of the Parsis), and is frequently referred to in the Pahlvi texts and in the later Zoroastrian literature. The name of Zoroaster's mother is preserved in an Avestan fragment as Dughdova.

The name "Zarthushttra."—The name itself is a problem for mythologists to start with. The late Professor James Hope Moulton explained that referring to prayers in the Parsi holy book, called GATHAS, "the proper names of the Gathas supply us with the evidence which the mythical theory will find it hard to rebut. By various manipulations the name has been tortured into conformity with meanings more or less approximate for legend, and if the motive be supplied, we might discover popular etymology at work in a dialect more or less remote from that in which the name originated."

The clue to the suggested meaning of his name is found when we read that his father-in-law is called Frasa-ustra, "ustra" meaning camel. Further Zarthushttra's Royal patron is called Vista-aspa, and his son-in-law Jame-aspa (From aspa a horse). Pourushaspa and Dughdhova (Zarthushttra's parents) mean "With grey horses" and "who has milked the cow" respectively. All these denote the pastoral community in which the family rose. The family or clan name is Spitma (meaning "be white") which comes from an ancestor of the prophet.

Prophecies of the Coming of Zarthushttra.—The world instinctively seems to look forward at times to the coming of a great teacher. In the Pahlvi literature and Avestan Gathas, the soul of the Mythical Bull beholds a vision in heaven of the *fravasi* (spiritual double) of the coming Zarthushttra 300 years before the event. Two more visions of similar type are seen in the reigns of King Yim and Kai Us, long before the coming of Zarthushttra. (*vide* Sacred Books of the East, Ed. by F. Max Muller).

Miracles.—Miracles are said to have taken place before the birth of Zoroaster. All such miracles are recounted in the sacred books called Dinkart, Zatsparam, Zarhust Nameh etc., of the later period.

Birth and Childhood of Zarthushttra.—The sacred book called Spend Nask gave an account of the early life of Zarthushttra (first 10 years). Unfortunately, the book has been lost, hence we must depend on some of the information worked up in the remaining Pahlvi literature, for the accounts of the birth

and life which are highly coloured by fancy. Nearly every nation has wonderful legends to shew regarding the birth of its prophet, and Persia is not an exception. I will not mention or describe the legends here.

Zarthushttra's early years.—It is said, that during his early years, Zarthushttra was placed under the care of a wise and learned man called Burzin Kurus. At the age of 15, he assumed the "Kusti" or the sacred girdle. The Zatsparam (West's translation, Sacred Books of the East) in a passage tells us, that when Zarthushttra attained his 15th year, he and his brother received a portion from their father and their portions were handed over to them by him. As a part of his share, Zarthushttra chooses the Sadrah and Kusti.

It appears that the Iranians in ancient times used to divide their property and wealth among their children during their old age.

A learned sage called Hoam flourished long before Zoroaster, and the investiture with the sacred white cotton shirt called Sadra and Kusti commenced in Hoam's time. I will say something more about Kusti and Sadra later on.

From the age of fifteen to thirty, the traditions give certain amount of details regarding his life, but it is not possible to go into them minutely here. From Zatsparam we learn that at the age of 20, Zarthushttra abandoned worldly desires and laying hold of righteousness, he departed from his parents' house and wandered forth for a number of years which were doubtless devoted to meditation and religious preparation.

A portion of the holy books called the Vendidad (22, 19) mentions the "Forest and Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones" viz., Ahura and Zarthushttra, where the Godhead and his prophet communed with each other. Professor Jackson after visiting Persia is of the opinion that *Mount Savalan* (near Ardabil 48° long E, 38°-15 Lat N. approximately) which is 3 or 4 days journey from Tabriz can be identified with the "Mount of the two holy communicants."

The Revelation and Amesha Spentas.—At the age of 30 comes the divine light of revelation and Zarthushttra enters upon the true pathway of the faith. It is in this year (B.C. 630 according to calculations by West) that the Archangel Vahu Manah appears to Zarthushttra in a vision and leads his soul into a holy trance, and thus into the presence of Ahura Mazda. After this, he wanders over the land of Iran and through the territory which is now known as Afganistan to teach a new Law and his watch-word is "*Ashem Vohu vahistem asti*" viz., "Righteousness is the best good." He meets hardly with any success. During the ten years that follow his first communion with God, he has six more meetings individually with six Amesha

Spentas (meaning Archangels). These are :—

Vohu Manah (good thought).

Asha Vahista (Best Righteousness).

Khshathra Vairya (Wished—for Kingdom).

Spenta Armaite (Holy Harmony i.e. guardian spirit of the earth).

Hurutat (Saving Health).

Ameretat (Immortality).

These divine beings give certain commands and injunctions which he is to convey to mankind. They inculcate the doctrine of purity of soul and body, enjoin the care of useful animals, especially the cow and the dog, they emphasize the necessity of keeping the earth, the fire and the water undefiled. Foremost among the commandments is the abhorrence of falsehood.

It should be noted that the Amesha Spentas are the most distinctive features of Zarthushttra's thoughts.

The Care of fire.—It is during the third interview with Asha Vahista that Zarthushttra is enjoined to take care of the Fire and the guardianship of all fires, sacred and secular. The place when this apparition comes to the Prophet is to the south of the Caspian Sea and somewhat to the east at the "Tojan water". Professor Jackson is of the opinion that this may be the River Tajan (Lat. 36°-37°, long. 55°-56°), and his opinion is still further supported by the fact that the territory there, is believed to be Volcanic, which would also answer to the Kingdom of Fire over which Asha Vahista is the presiding Genius.

Seven Visions.—It is not possible here to give the details of all the seven divine visions and of the fascinating and interesting history concerning Zarthushttra's wanderings, trials and hardships, for the length of the article has to be restrained. Suffice to say there are several books on the subject it which may be referred to for further details.

The Temptation.—After the revelation is complete, comes the Temptation of Zarthushttra. The Powers of Evil gather their forces for a combined attack upon Zarthushttra, but he defeats his spiritual enemies and puts them to flight and recites Ahuna Vairya. From the time that Zarthushttra enters the Path of Duty, 10 years roll by, and only one convert is made and he is "Maidhoi-manoha", a cousin of Zarthushttra. The fact is definitely alluded to in the Gathas and in the later Avesta (which contains lists also of later converts). Undaunted, Zarthushttra toils onwards for the next 2 years. Success attends, the climax is reached and triumph is secured in the conversion of the King Vishtaspa (son of Lohrasp or Aurvat-aspa as per Avestan). It is said that it was due to an inspiration that Zarthushttra turned to the court of Vishtaspa.

King Vishtaspa.—The Dinkart (Pahlvi Writings) speaks of "capital or

Metropolis", the "lofty residence" etc., of Vishtaspa but the location of the city is not distinctly stated. However later traditions, Arabic and Persian, persistently maintain that the city of Balkh was the scene of the conversion.

Location of Balkh is approximately 67° Long E' 37° Lat N.

It is not possible to say definitely who this king Vishtaspa or Gushtaspa was. I must draw your attention now (for as you will see later, it is important) that his name is the same as that of "Hystaspa" the father of King Darius. Whether Vishtaspa was himself a vassal king in Media itself, or a Monarch in Eastern Iran (Bactria), cannot be definitely ascertained.

Conversion of Vishtaspa to the New Faith.—Zarthushttra approached King Vishtaspa and had a controversy with his wise men of the state. Zarthushttra claimed the office of a prophet and aroused Vishtaspa's interest. This was followed by a plot against him by those who were supplanted in influence. Zarthushttra was denounced as a wizard and thrown into a prison to starve and die.

Immediately after this, the King's favourite horse Bahzad suffered in a peculiar manner, the four legs of the animal being suddenly drawn up into its belly.

Zarthushttra heard of this and promised cure on condition that,—

- (1) Vishtaspa should accept his faith,
- (2) Vishtaspa's son Isfandian should fight as a crusader in support of the faith,
- (3) that the Queen should accept the faith,
- (4) that the names of those who caused his imprisonment were declared.

Vishtaspa agrees to these conditions and the horse is cured. The conversion is nearly complete, but Vishtaspa still seeks further proof from Zarthushttra in the following manner:—

- (1) A visit in a dream to Paradise.
- (2) That his body may become invulnerable.
- (3) Acquisition of knowledge of Past, Present and Future.
- (4) That his soul may not leave his body till resurrection.

Zarthushttra promises to grant these, but that they must be divided amongst four persons as they cannot all be given to one man.

Vishtaspa sees a glorious vision and his first wish is fulfilled. The King's son, Peshotan (Bashutan) drinks a cup of milk and becomes undying until resurrection, the grand vizir Jamasp, inhales some magic perfume and becomes endowed with universal knowledge.

Lastly the valiant Isfendian (Spento-data) another son of Vishtaspa partakes of a pomegranate and his body becomes invulnerable (*i.e.* Ruintan).

Fire as the Symbol of Divinity.—Once the King was convinced, he became an enthusiast and the nobles of the court followed his example. Converts became many. People came forward to hear Zarthushttra, recite the verses of his Gatha (Psalms) and Zarthushttra taught the worship, not of many gods, but of one only True God, The Mazda. “Zi Mazdaonho dum” meaning “Be you the worshippers of Mazda only” (Gatha II Ha. 3 Para I). Let it be said here once for all that throughout all the Sacred Writings, the most solemn and emphatic injunction has been laid to worship Ahura Mazda the supreme God and Him alone and in all times Zoroastrians have in their writings, been called “Mazdyasna” i.e. the worshippers of God Mazda. So that though the ancient Iranians revered and esteemed Fire as the symbol of divinity, and as such worthy of respect and reverence, they never professed themselves to be the worshippers of fire.

As a matter of fact, Zarthushttra must have found the reverence of fire to be already in existence. The worship of fire by the ancient Assyrians is shown by their monuments in the palace of Sanherib at Koynudjik, Nineveh. (Vide page 412. Murzban’s “Parsis in India.”)

Zarthushttra in his own Gathas; speaks of fire as a mighty and bright creation of Ahura-Mazda, and prefers it, as a symbol of divinity, to other created objects. But nowhere does he enjoin the worship of fire. On the contrary, he most emphatically insists upon the worship of Ahura-Mazda alone. He says : “Let, to thy fire, be offered the the salutation of holiness, and not, as far as I am able, to that worshipped by Manya.” (Gatha II, ha, I. 9). Herodotus, the Greek historian, (450 B. C.) while he refers to this reverence of the Iranians for the fire, nowhere declares that they were fire-worshippers. Firdosi, (Mohomedan Poet A. D., 1,000) too, gives emphatic testimony on the point, and willingly repels the charge, of fire worship often hurled against the Zoroastrians. Says he, in the Shah-Nameh, the immortal Epic which has evoked the highest admiration of all nations.—

“Na gui ke atash-parastan budand,
Parastanda-e-pak Yazdan budand.”

Translated these lines mean. “Do not say that they were ‘fire,-worshippers’: For, they were worshippers of God, the Holy.”

Spread of Religion.—After the conversion of King Vishtapa and his court, every effort was made to spread the religion. For a full description of the history and the holy crusades, I refer the readers to the existing books on the subject. Special attention was given to the subject of the fire cult by Zarthushttra in founding new Atashgahs i.e., buildings wherein fire was kept burning in an urn and specially tended.

Death of Zarthushttra.—After a wonderful career, Zoroaster passed away

at the age of 77 and forty days in the 47-48th year of the religion or B. C. 583 (as per West's calculations). The fact that he died at the age of 77 years, tradition repeats with great uniformity. His death was due to violence and is ascribed to a Turanian named Brato Kresh or Turbaraturhash (Tur-i Bratar-vakhsh) at Balkh. (References. Zatsparam. 23. 9, Pahlavi Bahman Yesht 2.3 etc. also Shah Namah.)

It is recounted that "The army of Turan has entered Balkh and the world has become darkened with rapine and murder.....They have slain Lohrasp, King of Kings, before the city of Balkh.....the Turks have entered the prayer house of Nush Adar and they have crushed the head of the master (Zarthusht) and of all the priests and the brilliant fire was extinguished by their blood." (Ref. Shah Nameh edited by Vullers-Landauer.)

Later Disciples and the "Magi".—Two daughters of Zoroaster, and after them men called Vohunem and Seno, who were again followed by about a 100 disciples, continued the teaching of the religion, till the coming of Alexander the Great, who brought ruin and desolation to the country and its faith.

Diogenes Laertius (2nd to 3rd century A. D.) states in his historic writings regarding Persians "after Zarthusht there were many "MAGIANS" in unbroken succession such as Ostanes Astrampsuchus, Gobryas, Pazates etc., until the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander."

A Remarkable Geneology.—But the succession of apostles who preached the doctrine of Zarthusht and the priests who carried out the religious ceremonies do not end there. In spite of changes and vicissitudes of fortune, the succession remained unbroken, till we find their representatives to-day in the priests who cherish the sacred fire in India.

The Magians.—We have just read the name "Magian." Who were they exactly and whence the name? The origin of the name and themselves have evoked great controversies. In short Magi was the name given to priests and philosophers before and even after, the time of Zarthusht.

The learned Arab historian Alberuni (973 A.D.-1048) says, "The ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zarthusht, but now there is no pure unmixed portion of them who do not practice the religion of Zarthusht."

Mr. Zenaide A. Ragozin says. "We shall not be far from the truth if we assume the Magi to have been originally the native priesthood of the vast mountainous region subsequently occupied by the Medes and known as Western Eran. With the arrival of the Aryan conquerors, who brought their own lofty, pure, recently reformed religion, began the process of mutual concessions and assimilations which marked the third stage of the Avestan evolution,

and to which we referred the foreign and mostly Turanian practices that make up so great a portion of the Vendidad. The fusion of the two religions was followed by that of the two priesthoods, and the Athravans were merged in the Magi, the sixth Median tribe on the list of Herodotus. How the fusion was effected, and why the name 'Magi' absorbed and was substituted for the older one, will probably never be found out. Indeed the very name has been and still is the subject of discussion among the leading scholars."

In the above paragraph there are two new words which I should explain. Avestan is the adjective of Avesta. Avesta is the name given to the collection of the holy books of the Parsis which are divided into two sections the old and the new, the former including Zarthushtra's "Gathas."

The word Athraavan ("Keeper of the fire") designates the priest throughout the later Avesta but does not occur in the Gathas. Literally it means "who has Athar". Athar is one of the oldest Aryan names for Fire. Another ancient term is Athrageni in Greek, the name of a plant, the wood of which was used to bring forth fire by friction. In Sanskrit Athari means flame.

The Turanians.—In their slow emigration towards Western Persia, the Iranians were continually harassed by mounted Scythian hordes (Turans) who were savage nomads. The Iranians called them "Turans" (the Yellow race) in opposition to themselves. Herodotus, is the name of a Greek, historian about 484 to 420 B. C., who has written a full history of Darius Hystaspas.

Dastur Dr. M. N. Dhalla, a Parsi scholar in his "Zoroastrian Theology" has expressed the opinion that "the Medes had founded a vast empire on the ruins of Assyria in the 7th century B. C. and the Magi formed one of the six tribes of the Medes, (Herodotus. I. 101), and constituted their sacerdotal class. The Median Empire was short lived. Cyrus overthrew Astyages, the last Median King, in B. C. 550, and laid the foundation of the great Achaemenian Empire. The Persians thus conquered the early possessions of the Medes and the Magi, their priests; but they were in turn conquered by the latter in spirit."

Speaking of Zarthushtra and his reforms, the late Prof. Moulton said,—
 "The religious abstractions of Zarthushtra were in any case far too difficult for the popular mind. They attracted thoughtful aristocrats, and chiefs who felt the economic advantages of the extremely sane and practical lore of husbandry with which they seemed so strangely linked. But, outside the court, we may be quite sure the Iranian people went on with their old nature worship as before, even as they were certainly doing when the Father of History travelled in Aryan lands. And when at last, the esoteric teaching of the great prophet and thinker found its public, it was through the interpretation of ritualist Magi, faithful to some, but by no means all, of the doctrines they

had brought "from far" as the Gatha Haptanghaiti significantly hints. The Amshaspands are just the elements most likely to fall into the background until the Magi had fully developed their angelology, and adapted the conceptions of the Prophet whom they claimed as one of themselves, to fit their own elaborated dualism."

The Sacred Books.—The sacred books of the Parsis still extant are chiefly the following:—Yasna, Visperad, Vendidad and the Yashts.

There is also a considerable amount of Pehlevi literature belonging to the comparatively modern Sassanian period (i. e. after Alexander the Great), chief amongst them being *Bundehish*, and *Dinkart*.

The collection of the holy books is known as Zend-Avesta but the appellation is not quite correct as will be seen. The word Avesta comes from "Avistak" which comes from "upasta" meaning foundation text, and Zend means "explanation" or "commentary" in Pahlvi language (i. e. language of Persia of the middle ages.) Zend is not the name of a language. The word Zend may be traced in *azaintish* and can be referred to the root Zan "to know." Under the circumstances the title should be Avesta-u-Zend meaning "Law and Commentary."

The original sacred literature of Zarthushtira has suffered heavy losses. According to tradition there once was a large body of sacred books written out on parchment. It should be noted that *the period 700 B. C. must be* virtually considered pre-historic, as no monuments of the period have been traced and we have no grounds for even guessing the time, when writing was introduced. Most of the original literature has been destroyed at the time of the conquest of Persia by Greeks under Alexander the Great of Macedon, 300 years before Christ. There are historic proofs, to shew that Alexander in a fit of drunken exaltation, after a feast burned down Persepolis (Lit. 30°8' and Long. 52°45') the great capital of the vanquished kings, and in the flames perished the sacred records.

The third book of Dinkart tells us that at that time there were only two complete copies of the sacred books. One of these was deposited in the Royal archives at Persepolis, and another was placed in safe custody in another treasury which fell into the hands of the Greeks.

However, it is the opinion that besides the two official copies of the sacred books, there must have been other duplicates of certain portions of the sacred books, which are likely to have been in use in large cities where priests and judges had to carry out their duties. After the invasion and partial subjugation of Persia by Alexander the Great, the Græco-Bactrian Government of the Seleucidae ruled for 70 years, followed by the Parthian dynasty (B. C. 250-A. D. 226.) and then came once more the ascendancy of the Iranian house of

Sason. Although 550 years of foreign administration passed away, the Sassanian king Shapur II and others were able to gather (by issuing Royal public orders) a large portion of the old writings, which collection after all must be considered only a fragment of the whole.

Further, it must be pointed out that the ancient language had fallen into disuse by Alexander's time, and hence it was found necessary to provide translation and commentaries in the then modern Persian i.e. Pehlevi and as Prof. Moulton says, "the grammatical chaos which prevails so often in prose parts of the Avesta or in what appears to be interpretations of prose inserted in the older verse, demonstrates that the later Avestan dialect was dead when these belated efforts at composition were made."

And we are right in surmising that this was the period when the clergy introduced various modifications, remodelled many of the original texts, which would account for many foreign elements that have obviously crept into the Ancient Religion.

Yajasnai or Yasna. (Gathas and Yasna Haptangaiti.)—Yajasnai or Yasna itself is divided into two parts, the early and the late. The early Yasna consists of the five Gathas and the Yasna-Haptangaiti, in 32 chapters. These are written in what is called the Gatha dialect (a form that stands nearest to Vedic Sanskrit). The word Gatha is well known in Vedic literature and means "song." The five Gathas of the Yasna no doubt belong to Spitma Zarthushttra himself. The five Gathas are called as follows:—

(1) Ahunvaiti, (2) Ushtavaiti, (3) Spentamainyan, (4) Vohu-Khshatram and (5) Vahishto-ishti meaning Wisdom, Bliss, Good Spirit, Power, Divine Will. Yajasnai means "prayer of praise or invocation." The complete Yajasnai consists of 72 chapters called "Ha-s."

The Vendidad.—The origin of the term is, "Vi-daevo-datem", vi, against, *daevo*, demons, and *datem* law i.e. anti-demon-law, and hence *Vendidad* means law against demons. It is truly a religious, civil and criminal code of the ancient Iranians. Scholars say that the style of its constituent parts is far too varied to admit of ascribing it to a single person. The Vendidad consists of 22 chapters called Fargarads. A few chapters deal with morality, medicine and cosmogony.

The Visperad.—The name Visperad (Avestan "Visperatavo") means all Chiefs or heads" and are invocations to all divine and holy beings very much in the form of litany, in 23 chapters.

The Yeshts.—The Yeshts are hymns of praise containing much interesting Mythical matter, which in parts appears foreign to the early stages of Zarthushttra's religion. These Yeshts together with a few fragments, short prayers for each day of the month and others, form the Khordeh or lesser

Avesta the contents of which are recited on various occasions and sometimes part of it for daily prayers.

The Two Sacred and Ancient Formulæ.—Before concluding this portion of the subject, I must say a few words regarding the two sacred formulæ of the Zoroastrians viz., the Ahun Vairya and the Ashem Vohu. After the first communion with God, Zarthushttra wanders forth to teach the new law with the following formula as his watch word, "Ashem Vohu, Vahistem asti, usta asti, usta ahamai ahat, ashai vahishtai ashem," which means when translated:—

Righteousness is the best good, a blessing it is, a blessing be to that which is righteousness towards Asha vahishta (perfect righteousness) i.e. measured by the ideal of perfect Righteousness in God.

During the period of revelation, Zarthushttra received from Ahura Mazda a sacred formula called Ahuna Vairya which is now the "Lords prayer" of the Zoroastrians. After the ten years of wanderings are over, Zoroaster is tempted by "Angra Mainyu" the desructive or evil spirit, but Zarthushttra recites the sacred formula of Ahuna Varya and defies the evil spirit. The prayer reads as follows:

Yathu ahu vairyo atha ratush ashad child hacha,
Vanheush dazda mananho, shkyaothnanam anheush'mazdai,
Khshathremcha ahurai a, yim dregubyo dadhad vastarem.

"As a heavenly lord is to be chosen, so is an earthly master (spiritual guide) for the sake of righteousness, (to be) the giver of the good thoughts, of the good actions of life, towards Mazda. And the dominion is for the Lord (Ahura) whom He (Mazda) has given as a protector for the poor."

Zarthushttra's Doctrine of God.—There is no doubt that the key note of his teachings is Monotheism.

As explained previously the worship of the "Wise" Asura or Ahura must have been in existence ages before Zarthushttra's appearance and many thinkers go further than that, (such as Prof. Homel, *vide* earlier part of this article.) They argue on sound basis and declare that the phonetic and historical evidence converge on the deduction that even the joint appellation, "Ahura Mazda" came into use long before (at any rate sometime before) the coming of Zarthushttra.

To the people before the prophet's time Asura, or Ahura or Ahura Mazda was the greatest of gods and entirely opposed to Devas.

Further investigation of the term Ahura Mazda.—To bring out the meaning of the last sentence in the above paragraph better, I add the following.

King Darius Hystaspas (522-486 B. C.) had never heard of Zarthushttra, as far as we can make out from the absence of the name Zarthushttra in the rock inscriptions.

The late Prof. Moulton has pointed out that Darius in his proclamations carved on the rocks acknowledges the help of AuraMazda "and other gods that exist" (Uta aniya bagaha tyaiy hantiy) or Aura Mazda hada vithaibis or vithaibis bagaibs "with all the gods" or "with clan gods." The meaning of *baga* comes out more fully in the Persepolis inscription of Artaxerxes III (Ochus, about 360 B. C.) where we read "mam Aurmazda uta Mithra patuv" meaning "may Auramazda and the *baga* Mithra protect me."

Ahura Mazda, Auramazda, Hormazd.—The compound name Ahura Mazda appears to get changed into Auramazda on the Cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings; and in the writings of Sassanian Kings (226 A. D.—651 A. D.) period it appears as Ahura mazdi. In modern Persian and with Parsis, the term is generally pronounced as Hormazd or Ormazd.

Zarthusht's Monotheism.—To sum up, it may be said the religion to which Zarthusht came was "Mazdyasni." The Prophet did not set aside entirely this religion. He accepted, confirmed and recommended what was good in it, but he did something more and greater than that. He uplifted the religion from higher Polytheism to Monotheism, raised the general conception of a God who was the greatest of gods to a God who stood alone, and thus the Monotheistic Ideal was achieved for the Parsis.

Doctrine of Dualism.—We now come to Zarthusht's doctrine of Dualism. We will commence by explaining the meaning of the two terms Spento Maiynuish and Angra Maiynuish. The first essentially means "the Beneficent Spirit" and the second means "the Destructive Spirit" which is also known as Ahriman.

Let us examine as to what is the true cause of this conception of the theory of dualism. In Max Duncker's "Ancient History" we find the following, (a small extract is only reproduced) which gives us an idea of the Physical Geography in those days of Central Persia.

"Life was in this land a fight against heat and against cold, a fight for the preservation of the flocks; and as soon as single tribes had begun to settle in the more favoured districts, and to attend to agriculture, it became a fight against the desert and drought. Here the dry soil had to be supplied with water; there the crops had to be protected against the hot winds and sand drifts from the desert. To these hardships and contrasts of nature must be added the contrast between the populations. Most of the native tribes of the central tableland, and many of those who held the surrounding highlands, were debarred by the nature of the country from leading any life but that of nomadic herdsmen. To this day a great portion of the population of Eran consists of nomads. So while the settlers laboured lustily, in the sweat of their brow, the others roved about idly with their flocks."

What influence can such conditions have on the people (we are now concerned with their spiritual thoughts)? In one word the reply can be given viz., "Dualism". The whole of nature play before them was a fight between Light and Darkness, between "Spento Mainyush" and "Angra Mainyush," the Good and Evil, Truth and Lie.

We find Zarthushttra propounding his doctrine in the 30th Yasna (third stanza of this Gatha) in a remarkable way. He declares:—

"3. Now the two primal Spirits, who revealed themselves in vision as Twins, are what is Better and what is Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise ones chose aright, the foolish not so."

"4. And when these twin spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-life, and that at the last the Worst existence shall be to the liars (dregvatam), but the Best Thought to him that follows Right (asaone)."

In Yasna 45, Zarthushttra declares:—

"I will tell of the two spirits in the beginning of the world, the holier, of whom speaks thus to the hostile: "Neither our thoughts, nor our doctrines, nor our purposes, nor our convictions, nor our words, nor our works, nor our selves, nor our souls, agree together".

Can we take this theory further in its application? Yes, Professor Chattopadyhaya has given us a practical interpretation regarding "Spento Mainyush" and "Agra Mainyush." He explains "They are the Noumenon and Phenomenon of Kant—the Thought and Extension of Spinoza. They are the Parabrahma and the Maya of the Vedantists, the Purusha and Prakriti of the Sankhya. They are the centripetal and centrifugal forces, the laws of Polarity of modern science. In the moral world, they represent the higher, divine intuition of Man in constant conflict with his lower animal instincts."

However in one of his passages the prophet declares,—

"For at the final dispensation the blow of annihilation of Falsehood (Druj) shall come to pass."

"But those who share in a good report shall speedily unite together."

"In the happy abode of Good thought of Mazda and of Righteousness."

The triad of good thought, good word and good (humata, hukhta and havarsta) is perpetual in the Gathas and holds its own throughout the history of Zoroastrianism.

The Practical side of Zarthushttra's Teachings.—Lastly I must point out that throughout we find that Zarthushttra was intensely practical in his teachings. Many of his doctrines shew him up in the modern light as an excellent Doctor and Sanitary Engineer.

Prof. Moulton says (page 146) "Early Zoroastrianism."

"For all the profundity of Zarthushtra's thinking, and it is perhaps mainly this which has made it hard for a few great scholars to put his date back as far as seems necessary, he was intensely alive to the practical realities of life; and there was a singular absence of the mystical element about his teaching. A little more of it perhaps may have helped his religion to secure a much larger part in human history"

"A more conspicuous absence is that of asceticism, which cuts him off strikingly from spiritual kinship with India."

The Kusti.—The Kusti is the sacred woollen thread girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear round the waist. It is tied fairly loose on a thin vestment (made of cotton) having short sleeves. The Kusti passes three times round the waist, representing the triad of Morality, good thoughts, words and actions. The Kusti is a texture composed of 72 wollen threads woven together which symbolise the 72 "Yajasnai" or "Yasna" prayers. The Kusti signifies a badge in the service of Ahura Mazda. Its Avestan name is Aiwiyanghana, from yah "to gird." The fact that usage of a sacred girdle is also to be found in Hinduism, and Buddhism, would suggest that it is a very ancient institution of Indo-Iranian origin. Now I wonder whether the custom dates from the period of Schism between the ancient Aryans? (vide my earlier remarks in this article) For:—

- (1) The Zoroastrians tie their "Kusti" or sacred girdle round the waist.
- (2) The Hindu Brahmins (i.e. the priest class) tie their "Yagyōpavīta" or sacred girdle diagonally across the body, i.e., it encircles the body diagonally, passing over the left shoulder and by the right hand side of the waist.

Now here are two similar types of badges, but utterly different in the way they are worn, each representing a totally different nation and yet, both Zoroastrian Iranians and Hindu Aryans lived once as an undivided nation. Again, I understand that "Yagyōpavīta" is made of cotton while the Kusti is made of wool.

How much does this prove?—Is it then wrong to speculate that when the difference in religious opinions arose (vide my earlier remarks) in the bygone days, one sect (shall we call them the Mazdyasnians?) dissented from the original community and chose to wear the same type of symbol, viz., a girdle, but in a different manner, so that the followers of the new sect may be recognised? Let us take a more recent example; we find that dissensions took place at the time of the Reformation in Europe. However, this is all speculation and incidents are lost sight of in the mists of time.

The Sadra of the Zoroastrians.—Sadra is a thin white cotton vest with short sleeves over which the Kusti is tied. In the front of the Sadra and near the breast there is a small bag (about 1" x $\frac{1}{2}$ "), made of two pieces of the same cloth of which the Sadra is made, and sewn up with it. This bag is called Geréban which means faith. A child when reaching the age of about 10 is Zoroastrianised. A ceremony is performed and the child is invested with the sacred Sadra and the girdle of Kusti.

Ancient Inscriptions and their Value.—Like other sciences, history is undergoing a complete change. In the present age, the desire for truth for its own sake is more evident in more than one departments of intellectual activity. Regarding history, the thinking public refuses to be misled by mere storytelling and imagination. The demand is for a closer touch with reality. Under the circumstances the paper would not be complete, if I did not devote a little space to the subject of ancient Inscriptions which have been found and deciphered. They are truly a voice from the dim past. It will not be possible to discuss here all or fully, the Cuneiform inscriptions of the Babylonians and Persians.

Ancient Alphabet.—Cuneiform is the name applied to the peculiar arrow headed alphabetical characters found on the ancient inscriptions in Assyria, Persia and Mesopotamia. It was a German school master and philologist called Grotefend who solved the mystery of the Cuneiform writing and to him belongs the credit of being first to solve the riddles and to decipher some of the Persian inscriptions. (Meeting of Academy of Sciences at Gottingen, September 4, 1802.)

Achaemenian's Gift to Posterity.—As it happens, the Achaemenian Kings caused the records of their deeds and memorable events of their reigns to be inscribed upon rocks. These documents in stone have partly defied the ravages of time and have preserved an account of events long past many of which otherwise would never have been known. As we will see further on, by far the most important of these inscriptions is the great inscription of Darius, carved in a part most difficult of access on the mountain side of the rock Behistun. (Long. 47°E. and Lat. 34°-15' N. approximately).

As a point of interest, I reproduce here two names in Cuneiform writing :



The word Baga (God) vide Darius tablet inscription on Mount Alvand near Hamadan.



Cyrus.

Ku

ra

ash

In describing the ancient inscriptions, I shall give the brief essential details only.

I.

Inscription on the partly damaged barrel shaped cylinder (clay) of Cyrus or Kyros or Kurus from Babylon, now in British Museum. (*See accompanying Plate.*)

— . — . — . — . — . — . —

Regarding this small cylinder shaped object of antiquity, Mr. Ragozin says "No one had the remotest idea of Kyros having been anything but a King of Persia, or of the Achæmenians having reigned in a double line and the very name of Anshan was unknown." He is also of opinion that the locality of mountains now known as Bakhtiyari Mountains (Long. 48°E. Lat. 31°N. approximately) is most probably this region mentioned in Assyrian Royal annals under the name of Anzan, Anshan, Assan and Anduan. The cylinder is damaged, still, for most of the lines (4th to 35th) a translation has been made (vide Keilschriftliche Bibliothek by Prof. Schrader and "The Witness of the Monuments" by Rev. C. J. Ball). From line 37 to line 45 the cylinder is broken away.

On line 20 we read:—

"I am Cyrus, the King of the world, the Great King the King of Tin-tie, the King of the land of Shinar and Accad, the King of the Four quarters."

"The son of Cambyzes the Great King, King of the City of Anshan, the grandson of Cyrus, the Great King, King of the City of Anshan, the Great-grandson of Teispes, the Great King, King of the City of Anshan."

In line 35 we read.

"Daily before Bel and Nebo, speak of the length of days for me; may they utter words in my favour, and to Merodach my Lord, let them say "Cyrus, the King that feareth thee and Cambyzes his son,..... made them all dwell in a quiet habitation."

Please note that Cyrus almost professes loyalty to "Marduk" or "Merodach" the god of the Babylonians! I must reproduce here therefore a few words of warning. Morris Jastrow Jr. Ph. D. (Leipzig) says in his "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria":—"The respect paid by Cyrus to Babylonian gods was a mere matter of policy."

The word TINTIR occurs in the inscription; it is the most ancient name of Babylon, in the Accadian or pre-Semitic period.

2

Sculptured Stele at Meshed Murghab among the ruins of Pasargadæ, which Cyrus made his Royal residence after the conquest of Asia Minor and

Babylonia. (Pasargadæ near Persepolis, long. $53^{\circ}-15'$ East. Lat. $30^{\circ}-30'$ N. approximately.)

This is the oldest known relic of *Persian Sculpture*. It is an impressive monument of huge slab $12' \times 5' \times 2'$ thick. The figure of a human being is carved in low relief on the front, with four unfolded wings and there is a most peculiar crown over his head, which certainly shews traces of Egyptian art. The top of the monolith which is now broken off bore the words (as per testimony of various travellers of old times.) "I am Cyrus, the King the Achæmenians." This monolith stands alone in a big plain.

As I am mentioning the approximate latitudes and longitudes of various place, I will also state that the southernmost latitude of Persia would pass near Haidarabad (Sind) and Benares, in India. For instance Pasargadæ is just a little lower than Lahore as far as latitudes are concerned. By the aid of the latitudes and longitudes, those who are interested, can mark the spots on their own modern maps.

3

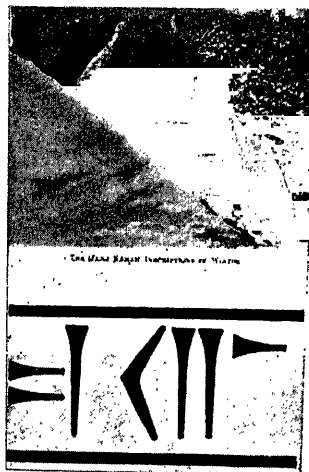
The Tomb of Cyrus at Meshed Murghab.—The building forming the tomb or the grave chamber is still in a relatively perfect state. The architecture appears to be Ionic and is of noble character, although of extremely simple design. The total height of the building is about 35', length and breadth $23' \times 17'$. The great blocks of stone are set with the utmost precision. It stands in a great plain, but Arrian, the Greek historian who accompanied Alexander the Great when he visited the tomb, describes it as standing in the midst of a park surrounded by a grove and rich meadows of grass. Alexander the Great when he visited the tomb, found it desecrated. The Golden coffin, the carpets of Royal purple, costly jewels etc., had all been plundered.

The entrance to the chamber is a very narrow doorway $4' - 2'' \times 2' - 7\frac{1}{2}''$. The tomb chamber itself stands on a terraced base composed of seven high steps. Once the following inscriptions adorned the resting place of the Great Cyrus.

1. "O man, I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, who founded the Persian Empire and who was King of Ara. Grudge me not therefore this monument."
2. "I, Cyrus—King of Kings, lie here."

In 1903 Professor Jackson (of Indo-Iranian languages, Columbia University) visited this tomb and he tells us with regret that the condition of the chamber is not what it was once.

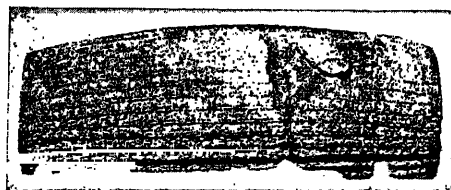
Carved Tablets of Darius and Xerxes.—Ganj-Nameh tablets of Darius and Xerxes, carved on one of the peaks of Mount Alvand, near the existing town of Hamadan (Long. $48^{\circ}-30'$ E. Lat. $34^{\circ}-50'$ N. approximately).



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A small portion of the Inscription of Darius on the Rock of Behistan in Cuneiform or Arrow-headed characters. Darius reigned from B.C. 522-486.



Rectangular in shape 5' x 8½' and sunk about a foot in rock, much weathered due to rain and snow. Both tablets have inscribed matter in 3 columns representing Old Persian, Susian and Babylonian languages all meaning the same thing as given below. The inscription (in Old Persian) begins,—Baga vazrak Aura mazda, hya imam bumim ada, hya avam asma nam ada, etc., the translation of which is as follows:—

“A great god in Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who made peace for man, who made Darius King, the one king of many, the one ruler of many. I am Darius, the Great King, the King of Kings, King of the countries which have many peoples, King of the great earth even to afar, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian.”

The name Alvand is as old as the Avesta, where it is given as Aurvant (vide Yasht 19, 3, “asta aurvanto fankavo” meaning the 8 spurs of Aurvant). Further it is possible to take the name Hamadan to earliest times. In an Assyrian inscription of Tiglath-Pileser (B. C. 1,100) the name Amadana is mentioned (vide Browne's Literary History of Persia). The Greeks called it Ekabtana. Not a trace of former grandeur remains. Professor Jackson says “I saw instead only crooked streets, alleys where ran channels of dirty water, rows of shabby houses with flat mud roofs, and not a vestige of beauty anywhere.”

The Xerxes inscription is identical, i. e. regarding contents, except that the name Xerxes is inserted instead of Darius. Ganj-Nameh means “Treasure house.” Sir Henry Rawlinson deciphered the Cuneiform inscription and thus unlocked many treasures of the past. To give a better idea, I will add that Hamadan is appx. 255 miles to the N. East of Baghdad.

Behistan Rock Inscriptions.—The Behistan (or Bisitun as natives call it) Mountain inscription near the modern town of Kermansha, about 92 miles to the west of Hamadan. Rugged country. The Behistan rock rises nearly perpendicular to a height of 1,700 feet. The rock has been well known from times of antiquity. The first European traveller to call attention to it was Otter in 1734. However King Darius has placed the inscription on the most vertical, smoothest and most inaccessible part of the rock and all attempts to reach the inscription were baffled till Rawlinson accomplished the feat in 1885 after suffering great hard-ships and dangers, and spending a great sum of private money. How the artisans and engravers ever managed to reach their work spots in mid-air or managed to erect in some sort arrangements upon which they could stand or sit while chiselling the letters, will remain a mystery. Explorers cannot find any signs to explain how the work was carried out.

Prof. Jackson also reached the inscription during his tour in 1903 and

studied everything thoroughly. Prof. Moulton says, "the task of decipherment seems to be finally accomplished now, and the would-be gleaner at Behistan, equipped as he must be with the faculties of the Alpine climber as well as of the scholar, has little prospect of new discoveries."

Regarding the rock, Professor Jackson says, "I had not the faintest conception of the Gibraltar like impressiveness of this rugged crag, until I came into its Titan presence and felt the grandeur of its sombre shadow and towering frame."

Besides the inscriptions, there are also bas reliefs carved above them on a surface over 20' in length and 10' in height, shewing a majestic image of Darius, pronouncing sentence of death on nine captives before him, the principle one being Gaumata the Magian, who usurped the throne on the death of Cambyses under the pretence of being the King's brother, and who was afterwards unmasked and slain by Darius. (*Vide* chronology given in earlier part of the article).

The inscriptions are in three languages, Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamitic (probably, the language of Anshan). The three columns containing Persian inscriptions are right below the bas reliefs. Each column is about six feet broad and twelve feet high. The following are extracts from the inscription:—

"I am Darius the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of nations, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Akhæmenian."

"Says Darius the king. My father was Hystaspes (Vishtaspa): of Hystaspes the father was Arsames (Arshama): of Arsames the father was Ariaramnes (Ariaramana); of Ariaramnes the father was Teispes (Chishpaish): of Teispes the father was Akhæmenes (Hakhamanish),

"Says Darius the king: On that account we are called Akhæmenians. From ancient times we have descended: from ancient times our family have been kings.

"Says Darius the King: There are eight of my race who have been kings before me: I am the ninth. In a double line we have been kings."

"Thus saith Darius the King; Those countries which became rebellious, the Lie made them rebellious, so that they deceived the people. Asuramazda delivered them into my hands.

"Thus saith Darius the King: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, be constantly on thy guard against the Lie. The man who is a liar, punish well with punishment, if thou thinkest "my country must be firmly established."

"Thus saith Darius the King: That what I have done I have done altogether by the grace of Ahuramazda. Thou who shalt hereafter read this inscription, let that which hath been done by me appear to thee true; hold it not for a lie. Thus saith Darius the King; May Ahuramazda be witness that it is true, not false, I did it altogether.

"Thus saith Darius the King: By the grace of Ahuramazda there is much else, besides, done by me, which is not written in this inscription; on this account is it not written, lest that which I have done may seem exaggerated to him who shall hereafter read this inscription, and may not appear to him true and may seem to be a lie.

"Thus saith Darius the King: Let that which I have done appear unto thee true, as it is; therefore conceal it not. If thou shall not conceal this edict, but shalt publish it to the people, may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee, and may thy seed be multiplied, and mayest thou live long. Thus saith Darius the King: If thou shalt conceal this edict and shalt not publish it to the people, may Ahuramazda be thy slayer, and may thy seed be cut off.

" Thus saith Darius the King : That which I have done I have done altogether by the grace of Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda, and the other gods that be, brought aid unto me. For this reason did Ahuramazda, and the other gods that be, bring aid unto me, because I was not hostile, nor a liar, not a wrong-doer, neither I nor my family, but according to Rectitude have I ruled."

Persepolis Ruins.—There are many more interesting inscriptions, ruins of palaces, etc. to be seen at Persepolis the royal seat of Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes and their successors. Persepolis is 40 miles to the south of Pasargadae, and existed at the site now marked by the great platform of Takht-i-Jamshaid. There may also be seen the tombs of Darius Xerxes, Artaxerxes and Darius II. It is not possible here to go into full details, which may be obtained from books on travels.

Relief at Taki Bostan.—At Taki Bostan (4 miles north east of Kerman-shah) is a relief figure carved on the face of a rock, which has been taken to represent Zarthushtra. This image also forms the basis of all pictures as seen today of Zarthushtra. The outlines of the figure are good and in general the pose is excellent. The body is clothed in a tunic like robe belted at the waist, and richly set off at the neck by an embroidered border with tassels. The height of the entire statue is seven feet. The expression of the face is hard to catch, because the eyes, nose and forehead have been destroyed, probably at the time of the Mahomedan conquest.

The relief of the staff in the hands of the figure is undamaged and shew grooved lines running the entire length of the staff. There is a sun flower at the feet of the image and is of triple kind. The sun flower is an ancient symbol of sun worship.

Were Cyrus and Darius Zoroastrians ?—Having described the ancient inscriptions (at least some of them) which give the historians such wonderful and detailed information bearing on the subject, we will now take up the history of Persia and discuss briefly the religion of the early Achæmenian kings. The debate on this famous problem has not yet been closed amongst the savants, for the data is curiously ambiguous. Let us begin with Cyrus (also known as Kurush). Was Cyrus a true follower of Zoroastrianism ?

Referring to the cylinder inscription, Dr. Casartelli says,—“The Assyrian Cuneiform inscriptions of that famous conqueror portray him rather as a polytheist, in as much as he proclaims himself to the Babylonians, the servant and worshipper of the Assyrio-Babylonian gods.....This—it may at least be supposed—was done in order to please his new subjects and to gain the favour of the powerful sacerdotal body.”

Professor Moulton has said “If we regard Cyrus as probably a Mazdean—not a Zoroastrian however—it will be because Ahura Mazda was

“god of the Aryans” and Cyrus belonged to an eminently “Aryan clan.” However,—Professor Moulton adds :—

“One solitary scrap of evidence in favour of Cyrus’s connexion with Zoroastrianism I am bound to present before I leave him, and I believe the point—*Valeat quantum!* is new. He called his daughter Atossa, which is identified with the Avestan Hutaosa. This was the name of Vishtaspa’s queen, and of course the name of Vishtaspa himself, Zarthushttra’s royal patron was perpetuated in the Achæmenian family, in Hytaspes the father of Darius. I do not think the double coincidence can be accidental. How much does it prove?”

Darius and the Parsi Calendar.—Even regarding Darius, the scholars are in doubt, for although Darius in his inscriptions speaks of Ahura Mazda and his hatred for the Lie (Druj), he does not mention the name of Zarthushttra or the Angra Mainyu or the Amesha Spenta? At the same time we note that “the Parsi calendar is traced on strong evidence to Darius, and that the present names of the months therein bear very strong marks of his hand. If this is true, these most characteristic of Zarthushttra’s concepts were exceedingly familiar to Darius.....”.

Although a monotheist, Darius like Cyrus and Cambyeses, found it necessary to be tolerant, even to conformity with the creeds of the nations he ruled. Rev. C. J. Ball says “we find him in Egypt lavishly endowing the temple of Amun in the oasis of El-Kargeh.” Professor Hommel, another authority, is of the opinion that Darius was the first to introduce the Zoroastrian religion into the Persian Kingdom with certain concessions to popular feelings.

Artaxerxes Longimanus follows Zoroastrianism 465 B. C.—425 B. C.—We find conflicting opinions regarding the religion of Achæmenian kings till we come to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. He established many fire temples, and in one of the Parsi prayers called Bahaman Yasht, it is mentioned that this King made Zoroastrianism as the general religion for the country. Faint traces of weakness in the empire begin to manifest themselves, and the decline appears to continue till we come to the reign of Darius Codomanus (338 B. C. to 330 B. C.) the last of the Achæmenian Dynasty. In 331 B. C. the empire is shaken to its foundation and the religion suffers an irrevocable loss at the hands of the Grecian leader, Alexander the Great.

Alexander the Great and his Conquests.—In 331 B. C. Alexander the Great attacked Persia and defeated Darius III. (Codomanus) on the plains of Arbela or Gaugamela. This was followed by the burning of Persepolis and with it the treasured religious manuscripts which were stored in a depository. This invasion by the Greeks was followed by the Græco Bactrian Government of the Seleucidæ which lasted for 70 years. Then a tribe of nomads called

Parni, probably of the same-stock as the Aryans moved westwards and settled in Parthia (now represented by the great province of Khorassan). They revolted under Arsaces and won the day, and thus commenced the rule of the Parthian dynasty, but they in turn had to yield to the ascendancy of the Iranian house of Sasan, which re-established the Zoroastrian faith very thoroughly.

Zoroastrian Faith re-established.—Ardeshir or Artaxerxes was the first king of the Sassanian dynasty (which ruled from A. D. 226-651). He was descended from Sassan, a scion of the Achæmenian dynasty. He tried to collect and bring together all the lost Persian religious literature.

Fire Altars stamped on Persian Coins.—Ardeshir caused pictures of altars with fire burning and priests standing on each side of the same, to be stamped on the reverse side of his coins.

The Conquest of Persia by the Arabs.—It was in the year 641 A.D. that the Arabs in the full flush of their new faith of Islam ran over Persia, defeated Yazdagard III, on the field of Nehavand 50 miles to the south of the city of Hamadan, thus causing the termination of the Persian dynasty.

The Exodus of the Parsis.—The Conquest of Persia by the followers of Islam now leads us to the exodus of the Parsis from Persia into India. At the outset, I must make it clear that there are proofs to show, that this was not the only cause of driving the Persians outside the country. Persecution *there must have been*, causing exodus on a greater scale, for Prof. Jackson tells us that even now, the Zoroastrians in Persia are often persecuted in various ways. It is not right to believe that the conversion of Persia into Mahomedan faith took place all at once, for Dr. Spiegel observes with certain amount of surprise that Parsism still flourished in Iran quite three centuries after the Arab conquest.

Ancient Religious Connection between Persia and India.—Mr. M. M. Murzban points out in his "Parsis in India" that there was religious connection between Zoroastrians and India even as far back as 600 B.C. There is a Hindu account of the advent of a fire-respecting priest from Persia into Dwaraka (in Kathiawad). In historic times, the Punjab formed part of the Persian dominions from its conquest by Darius Hystaspes about 510, till 350 B.C. About the beginning of the Christian era, the Kanerkis, the Indian Scythian rulers of the Punjab, seem to have adopted the religion of the Magi (Lassen in the Journal of the Beng. Asia-Society XI 456), as indicated by the picture of fire altars stamped on their coins. During the reigns of the Sassanian Kings the relations between India and Persia were closer. Mr. Murzban states that according to one account, early in the seventh century, a large body of Persians landed in Western

India, and Wilford states that one of the leaders was a son of King Khosru Parviz, and believes that the family of Udeypur has sprung from this stock.

Excavations at Pataliputra or Modern Patna.—Dr. D. B. Spooner has carried out recently excavations at Pataliputra, or Palibothra (Megasthenes,) Kusumpura or Pushyapura of the ancient Kingdom of Magadha, modern Patna. He has discovered the remains of a hundred columned palace, or throne room corresponding to the Persepolitan one of Darius the Great. Further Dr. Spooner points out that a wave of Persian advance in India must have taken place even in times anterior to Chandragupta, even as far as Orissa and Assam. He says that the Yavanas, mentioned in the temple records of Jaganath, as invading Orissa between 458 and 421 B.C., were a “Zoroastrian tribe from some part of the Persian Realm.” Thus there were Zoroastrians in India in the Achæmenian times.

Many Migrations of Parsis towards India.—Much more can be written on this subject, but it is not possible here to enlarge upon it. Briefly then, we may say that there must have been many such migrations of Parsis towards the east, at different periods and very naturally, it must have reached a much greater magnitude when the Arabian persecution was at its worst, and with this particular exodus we are for the moment concerned with.

Where did the Refugees Land in India.—We do not exactly know the modes of their departure from the Persian Gulf at the time of the persecution. The only information we can collect on the subject is from a book called Kisseh-e-Sanjan which might have been written by a Mazdean priest in the year about 1,600 named Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana, who lived in Nowsari, (now a railway station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway), north of Bombay.

According to him the refugees first landed at Diu, a small town on the Gulf of Cambay to the south of the Kathiwar Coast, and then a little later on, changed their residence to Sanjan (25 miles south of Damman) ruled then by a Hindu prince called Jadai Rana. Before allowing them to settle, the prince desired to know something about this new race, so the most learned amongst the refugees drew up 16 Shlokas in which are summarised the duties enjoined by their religion.

They were permitted to settle down provided they adopted the language of the country and the Hindoo dress for the woman, and the men should no longer carry weapons and that they should perform the marriage ceremonies at night according to the Hindoo custom. The exiles, anxious for peace and rest agreed to all this. They settled down in a large tract of land, not far away from Sanjan, and built an altar for lighting the sacred fire and from that time onwards, Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies began to be performed on Indian soil.

When did the Refugees reach India?—The date of the landing at Sanjan has great controversies, as some hold it was in 716 A. D., while as per calculations made by Mr. Cama it is stated as 936 A. D. For nearly 300 years, the Parsis lived peacefully at Sanjan some migrating to Cambay, Ankleswar, Variaw, Vankaner, Surat and Thana.

Another Fight and Massacre.—About 1305 A. D. they fought with the Rana against Mahmood Shah or Ala-uddin-Khilji. In the great fight the Rana perished and Ardeshir a Parsi hero died and once more, many Parsis fled to the mountains of Bahruit 8 miles east of Sanjan, taking the Sacred Fire with them, which they had lighted after their first landing in Sanjan.

What happens to the Sacred Fire Commenced at Sanjan.—Mr. Murzban mentions: "The grotto, where the Sacred Fire was deposited, is still to be seen." The fugitives remained there 12 years, and then went to Bansdah. In 1331 they conveyed the Sacred Fire to Naosari, where many Parsis had settled long time ago. From Naosari, the fire was removed in 1733 to Surat temporarily for 3 years. From there it was taken to Balsar but at last it found a final resting place in Udwarda on the 28th October, 1742, where it is to-day.

The Spread of the Community.—The continuation and further spreading of the Parsi race is but natural, and it is not necessary here to go into the various details describing various migrations of the Parsis from one place to another in India, and the details of how such and such family flourished. Such details and minute histories can be obtained from various books and publications by European and Parsi historians.

Sources of Historical Information.—In conclusion, I would add that for the preparation of the above notes, which give a rapid survey of the history of the Parsis from the commencement (600 B. C.) to the period of their coming to India (about 800 A. D.), I have derived a great deal of information from important works by well known Parsi, European, and American scholars. While quoting, I have almost invariably mentioned their names and I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to them.

NANDIDROOG

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society)

BY REV. F. GOODWILL.

NANDIDROOG makes good its claim to supremacy among the hills of the Kolar District, although there are at least two other hills close by that are barely a hundred feet less in height. Its height is given as 4,851 feet above sea level and 1,800 feet above the surrounding plain. In massiveness as well as in sheer height it deserves premier honours; from whichever side it is approached, Nandidroog stands out massive and imposing. The waters too acknowledge its greatness, for more than one far-faring river owns the hill as father.

For centuries past the hill has been as sacred to the religionist as it has been useful to the warrior. It is a very interesting question whether the military or the religious use of the hill was the earlier. Probably the two are not really to be separated; as the religious and the fighting instinct are both inseparable from men, whatever the stage of civilisation they have reached, it may well be that from times immemorial the hill has been the refuge of man both from his mortal and spiritual foes. The records available show the hill as a religious rallying point further back than they speak of its military uses, but there are suggestions of its close connection with military men, to say the least, for several centuries past.

The oldest inscriptions of the Kolar District are in the Kanarese language, but the fact that one-third of the inscriptions of the District is written in Tamil indicates something of the varied history of the neighbourhood. Lying to the East of the Mysore State, this District has for centuries been more open than the rest of the State to conquest by the Tamils. Those who now move about in the neighbourhood of Nandidroog will often be bewildered by the strange mixture of Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese that passes current among the villagers.

An inscription from Mudayanur, in the neighbourhood, which dates from 338 A. D., during the supremacy of the Mahavalis, makes the earliest mention of Nandidroog that has yet been found. It speaks of the god, Siva, whose vehicle is the bull 'Nandi,' sitting on the hill Nandi as on his beast. The name shows that from very early times the hill was sacred to religious uses, and in this case it is honoured by the Saivites. In an inscription that is dated 1289 it is called the 'Southern Kailasa.' An inscription of about 750 A. D., when the Jaina Kings of the Ganga dynasty were in power, gives

cause for the question whether, the name 'Nandigiri' = 'hill of the Bull,' or 'Nandagiri' = 'hill of bliss,' was the original name of the hill. The Gangas ruled in the neighbourhood from about the dawn of the Christian era, and continued their rule with more or less completeness for several centuries. These Jain rulers took to themselves the title 'lords of Nandagiri,' and the term 'Nandagiri' seems with them to have been commonly applied to the hill. That the kings of this dynasty called themselves 'lord of Nandagiri' suggests that it was more than a spiritual bulwark to their rule, that even in their days it was already a 'durga', a 'fortified hill.'

The inscription of 750 A. D., already referred to, is inscribed on a large boulder on Gopinatha Gutta, a spur jutting out from the North East base of Nandidoorg. After indicating who built and who repaired the Jain temple that stood there, the inscription proceeds to praise the great hill as the best of mountains, an ornament of the earth goddess, purified by a *chaitya*, = a Buddhist temple, and a '*tirtha*', = a sacred bathing place, and as having caves suitable for the dwelling of holy sages. At this period it is clear that the dominant worship performed on the hill was Jaina; now there are no Jain temples nor performance of Jaina rites. But we could amply justify the suggestion from practices, elsewhere in this country, that the Jaina worship performed on the Hill did not necessarily exclude the worship of Siva, nor the use of the one name bar the use of the other by any devotee so disposed to apply it. And the fact that the ruling dynasty used the name 'Nandagiri' is enough to explain why this term is for awhile the more prominent in the inscriptions. Seeing that people commonly become zealous for the gods of their local masters, it would not surprise us that during the stronger periods of Jaina rule the popularity of the hill as a Saivite shrine, never entirely out of public ken, waned before its Jaina sanctity.

There can be no doubt that there has ever been the most intimate connection between the temple on the hill and that in the village of Nandi at its base on the North-East. Probably in the days of Jaina power both sites were then sacred to Jain temples. The present shrines, as is usual in the case of temples situated one at the base and one at the top of a hill are dedicated to Bhōgā Nandīswara and Yōgā Nandīswara, the deities being resorted to for blessings temporal and blessings spiritual respectively. Though, as might be expected, the functions of the gods overlap to some extent.

The oldest part of the temple in the village is earlier than the ninth century A. D. It was enlarged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by the Chōlas and Hoysalas respectively. It is now a fine old structure well worth study,

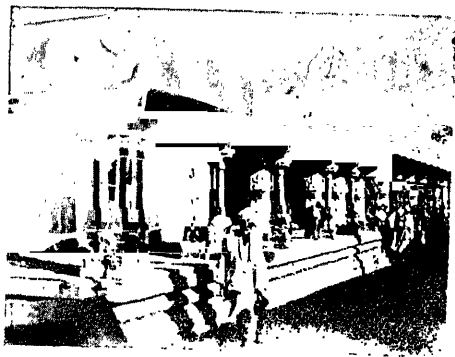
decorated in the style characteristic of old days. It is not imposing from a distance, and any one might well go right past it along the road to Sultanpet without noticing that it is out of the ordinary.

The temple above is simple, almost to rudeness. It is just the sort of structure that one would expect to find on the top of a hill, made to stand the rush of the wind and the lash of the storm. It stands right on the highest part of the droog, and close by is a small enclosed tank for ceremonial bathing, a tank all too small for the large numbers who seek its waters during the annual festival, which is held in March.

An inscription of 1049 A. D. records the gift by a Chōla officer of a gold plate, which was to be worn as an ornament by the god in the hill temple "as long as sun and moon exist." The status of the donor suggests acquaintance with the hill and its deity during the course of official, and probably military, duty there. In 1092 some worshipper in the temple below was moved to make a similar gift to the god there, and he uses very similar terms in his inscription. An inscription dating from about 1,100 shows the active devotion of 'Sidiyur Tammayya's younger brother,' who at that time made well the path between the two temples. There are said to be upwards of 1,800 steps up the hill at the present time; they are irregularly spaced, and lie at innumerable angles, so that the climber must needs see to his going. All honour to the man who made a good path 800 years ago! He earned the right to give the world his name.

Other records of about this time register the fact that distinguished *rishis* took up their residence on the hill and in its neighbourhood. Any one who goes to the hill at the time of the annual festival will find many ascetics, more or less genuine, who have taken temporary possession of the hill, but *rishis* of note have not resided here for long time. Later, in 1536, a stone was inscribed on the hill which bears beautiful testimony to the hope of life to come which is cherished in the human heart: "Yammarasa, having served the feet of Īsvara of Nandigiri, will now be serving in the presence of the god as long as the sun and moon endure". A stone of the year 1500 records another beautiful thing, beautiful for its practicality and lastingness: "Bayiru made the door" *i. e.*, of the southern gate of the temple, and left this inscription near it. Surely the men who built solidly and made practicable roads had the right to mention the fact; we greet them with utmost respect, as also the men who offered spiritual service.

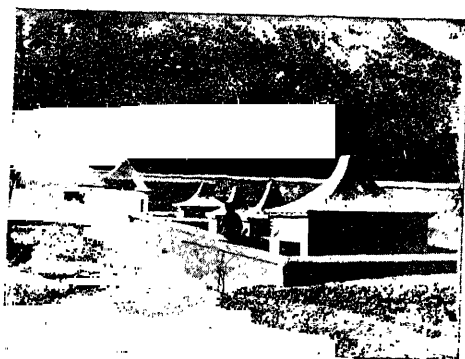
An important inscription comes down from 1680. It was put up by Shāhji, the father of the more famous Sivāji, and is on the hill to the West of the temple. Shāhji was then governing the Kolar district as the viceroy of Bijāpur. Ordinarily he lived in Kolar, but seems to have had Nandidroog



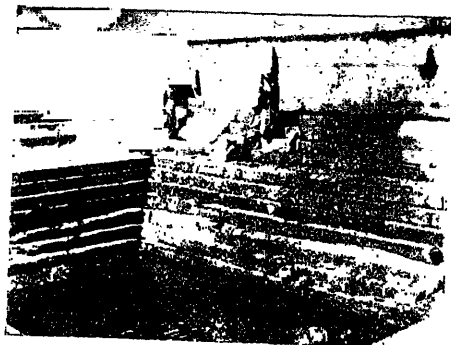
THE TEMPLE AT THE BASE.



TEMPLE AND TANK ON THE HILL.



THE ENGLISH CEMETRY.



THE INNER RAMPARTS.



THE STEPS ROUND THE SACRED TANK.

as one of his strong places. The inscription describes the hill as lofty and impenetrable, with only one path, filled with 'champakā' and other beautiful trees, and possessing a notable temple. The hill is said to be a hill fort for the Ballapur kingdom. (It should be noted that both Chickballapur and Doddballapur were established about two centuries before this time). Balaji Krishna now was taking over the command of "this fine hill fort."

After this time there is no inscriptional evidence that is of importance, and for the history of Nandidroog and the neighbourhood we may turn to printed books. In 1768 the British, fighting the first Mysore War, were within sight of the Droog. For several months the siege guns that were intended to serve in the siege of Bangalore fort lay at Kolar Town, 32 miles away. The army approached still nearer to Nandidroog when it held for some weeks the neighbourhood of Hoskote, only 16 miles from Bangalore. Haidar Ali had taken the fort in 1762 after hard fighting in the neighbourhood of Chickballapur with the Palegar of that town and with the Mahrattas under Morari Row of Gutti. That same ardent Mahratta fighter was an ally of the British in 1768, and the joint force of British and Mahrattas lay at Hoskote for a month. But the first Mysore War had no direct connection with Nandidroog, though it was fought entirely in the Kolar District and generally within sight of the great fortress.

In 1770 the Mahrattas under Mādhava Row pushed deep into Mysore territories and for some time held much of Tumkur and Kolar districts. Nijgal was captured, and the defenders were all mutilated except the gallant commandant, who, when he was brought before his conqueror and asked to say why he should not suffer the disgrace of mutilation, replied that, if he were thus treated, the disgrace would belong to those who did the thing, while he would suffer only the pain. For this courageous answer his nose and ears were left to him unmarred. The Mahrattas at this time, and for some not traceable period even after the peace of 1772, held Hoskote, Madgiri, Sera, Tumkur, Doddballapur, and with the last no doubt Nandidroog also.

Between approximately 1770 and 1791 the hill was refortified by Hyder Ali and his son Tippu. As the hill is precipitous on a great part of its perimeter, a single wall is sufficient to make it secure. On the South West the hill is more accessible, and here it was thought necessary to build rampart behind rampart. Two walls with necessary bastions were completed, and a third wall was in course of being built when the fort was captured by the British forces in Oct., 1791. The walls are well laid and strongly built, even now much of the masonry being in very good repair. Those familiar with the construction of Indian forts will miss that important feature, the 'cavalier'

the high mound erected at intervals within the walls for the reception of guns placed so as to command the whole body of the fort. There is a record, however, that a great mound was removed in 1848 to admit the building of the Cubbon bungalow. This is the site on which such a mound would be erected, as it would command the whole slope of the ground leading up to this the highest point of the hill, and we may fairly certainly conclude that this mound was the 'cavalier'. All round the works strong buildings were built for the accommodation of the garrison and for the storing of ammunition; most of them are still standing.

Nandidoorg, almost more than any other droog, is connected by tradition and quasi-history with the imprisonment and death of numbers of British prisoners who were captured for the most part during the long Second Mysore War, 1780-84. Tradition points to the steep S. W. face of the hill as the dread 'Tippu's Drop', over which numbers were hurled to be dashed to pieces on the rocks hundreds of feet below. Meadows Taylor in his book 'Tippoo Sultaun' lays his story chiefly in Nandidroog, and gives a strong general ground for the current beliefs. There is a tendency just now, possibly due only to reaction rather than to the discovery of new information, to paint Tippu in much pleasanter colours than were used of old. Perhaps because of this general tendency, perhaps also because Tippu's 'leaps' and 'drops' are numerous in the country, we are more sceptical than of old as to the dark doings of Nandidroog. But in justice to the writer mentioned above, we must remember that he wrote in 1840 when facts must have been available, and that from the lips of men who had taken part in the fightings and sufferings of early days, which are now entirely buried in the sands of time. And we should recall also that in other works of his this writer gives us pictures of Indian doings which are by no means overdrawn, or drawn from any peculiar standpoint.

But we have an earlier witness, one who writes ten years earlier than Meadows Taylor, and who writes the sober record of personal doings rather than the doings of a character of fiction. Colonel Welsh commanded the garrison at Nundydroog from 1809 onward, so that he was in a position to know the information that was current, and to be acquainted with the whole locality. His residence there goes back to within eighteen years of the capture of the place by the British troops. In the course of his reminiscences he says that prisoners are said to have been there in hundreds, and that they were confined in a house or houses on a small detached hill, known as 'Tippoo's Drop', about a mile from Sultanpet. (This is the place now often called 'Hyder's Drop', and may be the place indicated by Meadows Taylor rather than the 'Drop' on the hill above). He says: "We found

the names of many of our countrymen scratched upon the walls and roof". And then he adds that hundreds of our sepoy are said to have been rolled, tied up in sacks, from the precipitous rock at the south west of the main hill.

This is testimony that cannot be ignored, and it is definite in certain respects. It both confirms and modifies the general belief with regard to prisoners at Nandidroorg and the treatment that was accorded them.

A little book in the hands of the present writer gives some facts that are more explicit still. It was written by James Bristow, who was in prison for about ten years in Seringapatam and elsewhere in Mysore, and who at last escaped to the British detachment stationed at Harihar in 1792. He says that Lieut. Rutledge, who had been captured in 1781, was sent a prisoner to Nandidroog from Seringapatam on account of being discovered to be in correspondence with friends outside. He was confined on the very top of the hill in a shed specially built on the bare rock, and for his sustenance he was given three-quarters of a seer of ragi and a few chillies daily. After living here for some time, he was shot for writing to other prisoners still in captivity at Seringapatam asking them to send him money. Bristow tells of a European farrier who also was confined on the same rock, but who was returned to Seringapatam to doctor a favourite horse of the Sultan. This man is said to have been the only one who ever returned after being drafted off to a hill fort. The records of prisoners who afterwards escaped show that all the prisoners had a horror of being sent away to an outlying hill fort; to them it foreboded closer confinement and probably an early and violent death.

It was in March, 1791, that Bangalore fell into the hands of the British under Cornwallis. Then followed the disastrous march on Seringapatam, and the falling back on Bangalore to prepare for a further and final attack on the capital. In July of that year, Hosur was captured by a brigade under Major Gowdie, who as Capt. Gowdie had written his name as a prisoner on the door of his 'wretched hovel' near the palace in the fort of Bangalore between 1780 and 1784. In August and September, imposing convoys of grain and stores had come in by this route from the low-lands, and the army was now free to move elsewhere in the country and consolidate its conquests. It was desirable to capture Nandidroog because it stood in the line of communications with their ally the Nizam, and threatened supplies from the north and north east. Consequently Major Gowdie and Capt. Read were sent out to this side of Bangalore to take action as they thought good. They took Rahmanghur, 20 miles to the east of Nandidroog, and other small forts in the neighbourhood, among them Kalavaradroog, a rather imposing

hill some two or three miles from Nandidroog to the north and near to Chickballapur.

It was September 22nd when Gowdie's force approached Nandidroog. The force was composed of one regiment of Europeans and six battalions of Sepoys, with six battering guns and four mortars. The record of the times is that "three fourths of the circuit is absolutely inaccessible". In the estimation of the British the fort ranked for strength with the great fortresses of Savandroog, Chitaldroog and Krishnagiri.

A breaching battery was erected with great labour on the hill adjacent to the Droog to the south west, at a distance of possibly 1,000 to 1,200 yards. But at this distance the guns could not take off the defences, let alone accomplish a breach. So, presently, it was decided by the besiegers that the siege must be abandoned, or an attempt be made to work up to a suitable breaching distance. From other sieges of this time we know that breaching distance must needs be some four to six hundred yards, although guns of the period were able to fire with tolerable accuracy up to 2,000 yards. It is probable that the shot marks plainly showing on the inner wall at this side of the defences were made by this battery from the hill across the valley. During the later part of the siege the guns were so close to the outer wall that they could not touch the inner wall at all.

Great exertions were then made to make a gun road, and to form a breaching battery on the side of the hill below the outer wall, exertions, say the old records, surpassing those of any other siege in India. The guns could only have been drawn up by the exertions of elephants, of which a considerable number were available in Cornwallis' army. Probably some of the hundred great beasts, that had headed the convoys that arrived *via* Hosur bearing treasure, were now brought into service with the guns.

For two weeks the work proceeded under fire from the fort. Within the fort, when it was captured, there were seventeen cannon, chiefly iron guns of large calibre. The fire of these guns had little effect on the attacking force, owing to its position on the steep hill side. But the fire of the *jingalls*, the big smooth-bore muskets mounted on swivels on the walls, was very troublesome and caused some casualties.

By the end of this time two breaches had been made, one in the curtain of the outer wall, the other in an angle of an outwork designed for the protection of the gate on this side. But, as already remarked, the inner wall eighty yards further from the batteries could not be touched by their fire and was intact. The fort was now summoned to surrender. It was under the command of Lutf Ali Beg, who emphatically refused the offer. A humane offer to permit the women and children within the fort to

leave before the assault was given was accepted, but the evacuation of these non-combatants was not actually carried out. Cornwallis now approached with his whole army, which he brought within four miles of the hill to make a moral impression on the minds of the defenders.

On the 17th inst. the flank companies of the 30th and 71st regiments, both of which had taken a gallant share in the capture of Bangalore *pettah* and fort, were detailed to lead the assault on the outwork, while the grenadiers of those regiments were to attack the breach in the curtain wall. General Medows, a light-hearted, free-spoken officer of long experience, who also had distinguished himself at Bangalore, offered his services and was put in command of the attack. The arrangements made were that the batteries were to fire till moonrise, which was to be the hour of assault. The breaches were to be stormed and the inner wall carried, if possible, by escalade. Particular instructions were given that the defenders were to be pushed back as rapidly as possible, and every effort to be made to secure the inner gate before the fugitives could bar it. This was a mode of attack that was frequently successful in those days; it was the method that caused gate after gate of the strong Savandroog to fall later into the possession of the attacking column. If it was found not possible to secure the inner wall or gate immediately, then lodgements were to be made from which a further cannonade could be made upon them.

The flank companies were formed up early on the 18th in the trenches that had been made for the reception of the foundations of a third wall, a hundred yards beyond the outer wall. The directions for the assault were now modified to the extent that the attack was to be delivered at midnight, in order that they might have the benefit of a good light. As the attacking parties lay in their trenches the waiting got on their nerves, and some of the soldiers began to whisper of the possibility of mines in the breach. The ready-witted general hearing the talk of a 'mine' laughed away their fears, saying "if there be a mine, it must be a mine of gold", and so the tension passed. At the given hour the columns moved upward, and were soon discovered. Blue lights were freely burned upon the walls, and a heavy fire was delivered. But more effective than gun fire was the loosing of an avalanche of rocks and stones that had been prepared against such an hour; most of the casualties were caused by this stone shoot.

The breaches were speedily mounted, and the enemy was pursued so closely that the inner gateway could not be secured by the retreating garrison, and it too fell into the hands of the attackers. Numbers of the garrison escaped over the walls by means of ropes and ladders; for, although the hill is practically inaccessible, there are pathways down which unencumbered and

desperate men might make their way to safety. As soon as the fort was virtually in the hands of the attackers, every effort was made to restrict the slaughter, and probably it was due to this that the number of killed and wounded of the garrison amounted to but forty. The stormers lost only two killed and twenty-eight wounded. In the whole siege the garrison lost six hundred killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, while the besiegers had forty Europeans and eighty Indians killed and wounded. The price paid for a fortress that had before stood a blockade of three years without being captured was very small indeed, and it is not surprising that the fall of Nandidroog after labours of but twenty-one days had a great influence throughout the whole of Mysore. The principal people of the garrison were sent in custody to the fort at Vellore. The damage done to the fort was so small and so local that it was easily put again into a state of defence, and it was held by the British with a garrison for some years after 1799, when the power of Tippu was finally broken at Seringapatam. The Mysore Gazetteer says that it was garrisoned till 1808, but the narratives of British officers serving in India in the early years of the nineteenth century are evidence that the garrison was continued after that time.

A fine garden, near to the beautiful well now called *Amrita Sarōvara*, was planted by Colonel Cuppage; this had been done before 1809, when Col Welsh entered into command of the Station. All kinds of fruits and vegetables were grown here, and they acquired a great name among the garrisons of South India. Nandidroog was then reckoned one of the Stations to be coveted and not without good reason.

The cemetery at the foot of the hill, which is still kept in excellent preservation, although many of the graves are now minus the metal or the stone slabs that formerly bore the names of the deceased, received the remains of the soldiers and others who died during the period of garrison. The earliest dated grave found by the writer is that of Lieut-Colonel Ridgeway Mealy, who died Sept. 19th., 1805. An adjoining grave holds the remains of "Elizabeth, the wife of William Pritchard Esq., 1807," the absence of military title in this case suggesting that the lady was the wife of a civilian. Possibly even then Nandidroog was used by the Services as a sanatorium.

Major Bevan tells, in his most interesting book on his Indian service, how in 1813 he marched with the 14th Native Infantry from Trichinopoly *via* Bangalore to garrison at Nandidroog. How again they returned to Nandidroog after moving to the Tungabhadra, where they had been sent to hold the Pindaris. He recalls how a panther one night sprang up and clung to the window bars of a solitary cell on the hill, where a refractory soldier

was in confinement. Apparently the bars that were strong enough to make a prison were sufficient also to keep the hungry panther from the meal that he longed for, despite the fact that the cells were at that time "falling into decay." Doubtless the men for whose accommodation the cells were provided would be glad to see them being put again into thorough repair, though that particular panther did not long survive to repeat his *shikār* of refractory soldier men. This date, 1815, is the last that the writer has found with a garrison at the old fort, though official records must be available somewhere as to when Nandidroog ceased to be a post for British soldiers.

BOOKS REVIEWED.

Zarathushtra and his contemporaries in the Rigveda.

BY MR. S. K. HODIVALA, B.A, BOMBAY.

WE take delight in acknowledging this volume from the author. It comprises several contributions bearing on the various questions of Persian antiquity and is to be welcomed as a further attempt to trace the correlation between the Aryans and their Iranian cousins by a descendant of the latter. The subjects considered in the volume are *Zarathushtrian date from the Rigveda, Gathic. Pahlvi, Pazend, and Sanskrit benedictory hymns. The Origin of the three sacred fires, History of religion in the Zande Vaman Yashita, Ashvins in the Avesta and the Rigveda, Gathic and Post Gathic views about Dualism, and, A plea for the reformation of the Zarathushtrian Calendar.* It will be seen that the subjects stated cover a large field in the early history of the Parsi Community. The author is one more in the list of silent scholars who are directly or indirectly elucidating the antiquities of India, and on analogous subjects. Mr. Hodivala says, "Some years careful study of the Rigveda and the Hindu scriptures on the one hand, and of the Avesta and the allied literatures on the other, brought forth preeminently before the mind of the present writer certain conclusions, which have not been so far touched by other writers, and which have been summarised as briefly as possible in the following pages." Some of the papers were prepared for the Society of Zoroastrian researches, and the Gatha Society of Bombay, and all of them will be of notable interest to Parsis, and to students of Vedic research among Hindus. We are sure that the volume will find its way in to all libraries with scholarly pretensions.

G. R. J.

Light of the Avesta and the Gathas.

BY F. K. DADACHANJI, B.A., LL.B., BOMBAY. Price Rs. 4.

IF the book noted above is a scholarly investigation in some points of history and chronology as related to the Parsis, this volume is an interesting exposition of the religion which is most coordinate with Hinduism.

It is an intelligent investigation of the Parsi religion by a thoughtful member of that faith, entitled to sympathetic perusal by members of that religion as well as by those who would like to make a proper estimate of the craving of man's soul, by an enquiring study of the religions which man's wit has in many ages variously built, but with one underlying chord of unity. Mr. Dadachandji says, "Conscious of its many defects, I send forth this book into the world with a prayer that the embers of spirituality burning in each heart, might to howsoever small a degree,

glow warmer and brighter, so that even a little of the bliss that every human being, owns and yet seeks might fall to his portion. The book will appeal only to those who care to eye religion in its metaphysical, occult, philosophic, and esoteric aspects. The man of religion respects every endeavour of a human being, to pierce the veil thrown by Nature round her secrets, and appreciates the merits of the painstaking scholar, who means to be a faithful interpreter of the mere words of a prophet." The volume deals with a relation of the blessedness of the Avesta, and after a contrast of Atheism and Religion, deals with Zarathushtra's life, and his tenets, the eminence of the Gathas, Ahuramazda's relation to humanity, and a summary of the Gathic Yasnas, the rest of the volume being composed of a translation of the Gathas, and commentaries on them individually.

This volume and the above we think, will fill a great gap in Anglo-Persian religious literature, and will be of enlightened interest to scholars in the East as well as in the West. They will do much credit to the intellect of a people whose commercial repute has been unique among Indian Communities. Both the volumes deserve high praise.

G. R. J.

"Conjeevaram Inscriptions of Mahendravarman,—I."

(By PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL, PONDICHERY.)

AT the outset, we beg to extend to Prof. Dubreuil our sincere welcome on his safe return to India and to his life-work, after an absence of a year and more in the battle fields of Europe, in the cause of his great country. An enthusiastic student of research like himself, is not to be met with every day in India, and so, great is our pleasure in having him once more in our midst.

The latest result of his enthusiastic researches into the life-history of the long-extinct Pallavas, is the reading into, of a definite meaning, in the Mandagapattu Inscription of Pallava origin which the Official Archæological Department, gave up as hopeless on account of its extensive damage. By invoking the assistance of the late Mr. Gopinath Rao, Mons. Dubreuil was able to get at its correct reading, which is as follows:—

"This is the temple caused to be constructed by the (king) Vichitrachitta, for (i.e., to contain together the images of) Brahma, Iswara and Vishnu, without the use of bricks, without timber, without metals, and without mortar."

Based on the unambiguous wording of this Inscription, the author places the seal of finality on the theory advanced by him in his "Pallavas" (June, 1917) that it was in the time of the Pallavas, especially after Mahendravarman, I (VIIth century A. D.), that "there was spread in the Tamil country a taste for sculpture in general, and rock-cut temples in particular". The other important inference from this inscription made by the author is to the effect that at the epoch of Mahendra there existed also temples, which were not cut in the rocks, but which were built with brick, wood, metal and mortar. To show to the world that this is

an inference on right lines, the author proceeds to cite the existence, to-day, of a mantapa in the Ekambareswara Temple at Conjeeveram, on one of the pillars of which there is an inscription which is a proud recital of the several *birudus* of King Mahendravarman, borne out by similar citations elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the cave temples of Trichinopoly and Pallavaram.

Our Contemporaries.

The Mysore University Magazine.

[Feb. 1919 : Vol III. No. 7—Mysore.]

“THE ‘domestic ideal’ of education is good as far as it goes. But it is not enough to advance in any appreciable degree the regeneration of India, which it is the duty of every one of us to help to bring about. It is not by confining women to a more intelligent performance of domestic duties, though that is also necessary, but by drawing them out so as to enable them to take their proper place in Society and co-operate with men, that the up-lift of the Indian Nation is possible.”

So writes Mrs. K. D. Rukmaniamma, in the Course of an interesting article on “Women’s Education and Vernacular Instruction” in the number under review. Her plea is for prescribing to girls the same curricula of studies as are fixed for the boys, so that there may be no discrimination on the score of sex, whether, even as an ideal, this unqualified radicalism, would appeal to the best minds of the country, is left for the readers to judge. Arts education in this country is more a training for minor public services than an actual “drawing out” of the pupils’ intellect. It is either this, or a stepping stone to technical and professional qualifications. We are sure that the gifted writer does not press for women engineers, women geologists, and women machinists, so much as for women of wide and refined culture. If this is what she aims at, may we suggest, in all humility, that she and other enthusiasts wait patiently against the happy day, when Indian Education, whether for boys or girls, will be cast on real, life-giving lines? Till then, the much-despised “domestic” curriculum now devised may well be allowed to run its course.

Dewan Bahadur Mr. C. Srikanteswara Iyer pleads, in the course of an article “Should Higher Education in Mysore be Free” that it should be made free, even though under existing conditions, only a particular class of the people will largely be benefited thereby.” We believe that he would have strengthened his case, and not weakened it, if he had refrained from importing into it allusions to the caste of Vyasa, Parasara, Vidura and Krishna.

The times in which these sages lived and taught are too remote from us, and too dissimilar also. Rhetoric apart, as long as the vast majority of the people continue illiterate, while a microscopic section of them are fully literate, the race for higher education is bound to be unequal, and concessions granted would therefore operate mainly to the exclusive benefit of the minority. There is absolutely no use in glossing over this stern fact with sentimental appeals. That caste and

class apart, all are the children of a common motherland, and that he who is partially educated, should not be made to stay where he is, because of his numerous uneducated brethren, that the presence in their midst of highly developed men intellectually, even if they all belong to one caste, is ultimately to the glory of the nation as a whole—a view like this is certainly a very high and noble one to take. But when one finds the country as a whole is not prepared to soar so high, it is the duty of leadership to yield, and by sympathetic co-operation direct the common will into fruitful channels.

The Indian Antiquary.

FOR AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1918. (BRITISH
INDIA PRESS, BOMBAY.)

IN "Religion in Sind" in the August number, G. E. L. Carter, I.C.S., reveals the uprising in the Eleventh century, of an unconventional, monotheistic variant of Vaishnavism round the personality of one Uderolal or Zinda Pir, born at Nasarpur on the Indus. His tomb which is believed to have been built by the then Mahomedan king, is revered by Hindus and Moslems alike. The followers of this Saint, who style themselves, *Darya panthis*, are monotheists and worship no other gods, nor are they idolaters. Mr. Carter surmises that this cult is an attempt at grafting the Brahmanical Vishnu on the ancient God of Sind, the River God. In the same number, Mr. Guru Das Sankar, M.A., of Calcutta lays effectively the spectre of Buddhist influence on the Sun temple at Konarak in Orissa, raised, with more zeal than caution, first tentatively by the late Rajendra Lal Mitra, and recently, by Mr. Bishan Swarup in his monograph on Konarak, published under the authority of the government. For ourselves, we cannot understand this eagerness of Indian Orientalists especially, in fathering Buddhistic influence on every architectural antique. This kind of foisting presumes a separation in spirit and technique of the so-called Buddhists and the Hindus. There was never such a thing in the realm of fact, as whether Buddhists or Pauranic Hindus, the master builders and the master painters of classical and medieval India were Indo-Aryans first and foremost, imbibing from a common source the excellences of an ideal life. Proofs on proofs are adduced by Mr. Sankar to show that the motifs of the Tree, and the Goose, the Elephant, and Naga friezes were the outcome of a common "Canonical scheme of decoration applied to Buddhist Stupas and to Hindu temples with strict impartiality." Much interesting information, culled from varied sources, as to the world-wide prevalence of Heliolatriy and to the disputed origin of erotic sculpturings on the sides of ancient fanes, is yielded by the article of Mr. Sankar in this number. Mr. Narendranath Law who has made the study of Ancient Hindu Polity his own, writes in both the September and October numbers on Vartta the ancient Hindu Economics, proofs being adduced to support his contention that Economics was one of the recognised branches of learning in India from the days of the Ramayana.

Indian Architecture.

(May 1919, Vol. III., Part XVII—Triplicane, Madras.)

WE owe an apology to the Editors of this splendid series of Indo-Aryan Architecture, for the long interval we have allowed to pass since reviewing one of their early numbers. It was not due to want of inclination so much as to our opinion that monthly continuations of the main divisions of a vast subject are better allowed to pass uncriticised till the whole series is complete, each division thereof being rounded up logically. The first two Books, of a necessity embrace in their scope the study, cursory though it might be, of long extinct civilizations of the Euphrataic and the Nile basins and of the Mediterranean littoral, into which there merged about 2000 B.C., alien elements of a stern, Father-worshipping race known but indifferently now as Assyrians, Hittites, Kasshites or Medes. It is from this amalgam—whose components are being perceived clearer and clearer as research progresses—that Indo-Aryan, or rather, Dravido-Aryan civilization and culture result. The Editors of the series perceive unerringly this grand continuity, and in their attempt to portray the course, enter into *details* which here and there admit of controversy. This is an additional reason why reviewers of the series should possess their souls in patience till the whole is rounded off and definite conclusions of theirs are before us.

Now that seventeen parts out of the promised twenty-four are before us, it is only seven months or say, eight months, ere we should possess in complete form, this sincere attempt of a few sons of the soil, at placing before the world, what they conceive to be the truth about the Development of Indo-Aryan Civilization on the lines of Architectonics and of Fine Arts in general.

Till then, the less we discuss the details, and the more we encourage them in their search after Truth, the better.

The Islamic Review and Muslim India.

June 1919, (THE MOSQUE, WOKING, SURREY, ENGLAND.)

FOR the past six months and more, we have been in regular receipt of this active, proselytising Organ of Cultured Islam and its Tenets, published from Imperial England. And, month after month, we see that the Journal maintains its reputation for sober, well-worded, and temperate attempts at proving that the Creed of the Prophet of Arabia is superior to other Creeds and that, as such, it is bound to prevail over other creeds. But from the standpoint of an Indian, whose race has suffered much at the hands of the potentates professing this creed, is it permitted us to remind the enthusiastic propagandists at Woking, that except for the brief rule of the Arabs at Baghdad and in South Western Europe, Islam has been more a synonym for unbridled license, culpable neglect, and unjustifiable high-hand-

edness throughout History? We do admit the possibility of the creed, having been misunderstood by the innumerable Turkish hordes, who, for lack of anything better, joined its green standard during the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era. But that a creed, and an explanation of Life, professing to be true and universal, should have found itself incapable of laying in the least the inherent savagery of a race—is a phenomenon needing careful examination, before its modern advocates stand up for it as *the one* way to cosmic salvation. Having read the articles, in praise of Islam, in the *Moslem Review* month after month, we are of the sincere opinion, that the propaganda, if it is to be sincere, requires a little less of special pleading, and a little more of comparative study of History and Cultural development—especially during the late Middle Ages and After!

The Modern Review ; June 1919.

BEING a very widely circulated periodical, the *Modern Review* needs no detailed recitation of the sumptuous fare it offers to its readers month after month. Notices of a journal like the one under notice, are more in the nature of appreciations of an article or two which claim deeper attention than usual. One of such in the number under review is Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Lessons from the career of Shivaji." In these days when India is beginning to dream of a United Nationality, it is well to be told by careful exponents of History (Professor Sarkar is one of them) what the elements are which one should enlist or avoid, if constructive nationality is a country's goal. Shivaji's labours towards Hindu Suzerainty failed soon after his death, because, *firstly* his phenomenal success set in motion haughty forces of bigoted orthodoxy and Caste elation, giving rise thereby to bitter opposing forces both native and foreign; *secondly*, the successors of Shivaji neglected the economic development of the State, paralysed commerce, and prevented the growth of an undisturbed peasantry, relying exclusively on constant raids into neighbouring States, to replenish their treasury; *thirdly*, the Marathas, after Shivaji and Baji Rao, trusted too much to finesse and intrigue forgetting that Empires could not be run as pacific games of Chess, and that the highest political wisdom did *not* consist in mere *raj-karan* or diplomatic intrigue. "Thus while the Maratha spider was weaving his endless cobweb of hollow alliances and diplomatic counterplot, the mailed fist of Wellesley was thrust into his laboured but flimsy tissue of statecraft, and by a few swift and judicious strokes, his defence and screen was torn away, and his power left naked and helpless."

As regards Shivaji, personally, Professor Sarkar has to put in some glowing passages illustrative of the great nation-builder's heroism, political forethought, deep devotion to the religion of his forefathers without any bigotry, and of the even-handed justice and toleration which he meted out to his subjects of whatever creed. By far the most precious legacy he has bequeathed to

posterity in India, is his having proved to the world that "the Hindu race can still produce not only non-commissioned officers and clerks, but also rulers of men, and even a king of kings (*Chatrapathi*) Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from administration and legal repression"

The other noteworthy article in the number is the exposure by a Panjaubee writer of the hollow pretensions to a dispassionate quest after truth set up by Mr. William Archer in his book "India and the Future." Our critic shows very penetratingly how, instead of being free from pre-possessions, Mr. Archer is obsessed to a painful degree with a blatant self-complacency which makes him forget, very often, even the ordinary decencies of political expression. It is a vast pity that writers like Mr. Archer are allowed to air in print views which compromise the chivalry and the love of truth of a great dominant nation unchecked.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for 1918.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHARYA, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE above is a document of unique interest. It is replete with architectural description, and historic detail, illumined by sumptuous illustrations. At every step the reader expects to fall plump upon some precious archæological find or historical discovery.

Mr. Narasimhachar toured during the year in the districts of Tumkur, Chitaldrug, Mysore, and Hassan, received several sets of Copper plates, and copied a number of inscriptions, prepared some 700 photographs, and transcribed half a dozen manuscripts.

This year's survey has brought to light a number of artistic Hoysala structures not noticed before. Another noteworthy structure got under notice is a Dravidian temple with three cells, a feature peculiar to Hoysala structures.

Among numerous illustrations of architecture and sculpture, the front view of the Iswara temple at Arsikere, the elegant Chennakesava temple at Araluppe, the Galigeswara temple at Heggere, a small but fine Hoysala building, and a *mastikal*. Two Mohammadan buildings of Sira deserve mention. Another plate shows the Yoga Madhava temple at Settikere, and another, the beautiful shrine of the Goddess in the Mysore Varahaswamy temple.

We would like to make two quotations from the Report: "Two sets of Copper plates received from Mr. B. Tirumalachar of Sagar, have to be looked upon as important finds of the year". And another which brings out a sign of amity between the back-looking Archæology, and so front-viewed a science as Geology; A copper plate and five precious stones found under the pedestal of a Betala image in a ruined shrine at Belgami, Shikarpur taluq, were sent by the Deputy Commissioner for examination. With regard to the precious stones, Mr. V. S. Sambasiva Iyer writes, 'The large crystal is topaz, coloured and not

very well suited to be cut and polished for a gem. The other four are sapphires, blue, not of superior quality. It may be of some interest to ascertain the agency that built the temple, with a view to a possible location of the place from which these stones have been obtained. If they have been obtained by the ancients anywhere in Mysore, an important discovery will have been made, and the Geological Department might be suggested to prospect for them in the areas." Mr. Narasimhachar thinks that they must have been found in Mysore.

Some appreciations are published at the end of the Report. One small one we cull here, written from Denmark, which must be gratifying to the cultured Archæologist. "As usual, your Report contains a great store of material admirably edited and illustrated, and is a splendid record of your fine energy and scholarship. When you have done so much it might seem unappreciative to ask for more, but I think the suggestion made by one of your correspondents that an Index to the series should be put in hand, is only a tribute to the excellence of your work, etc.' The index referred to has been taken in hand.

One more reference might be apt to some of the recent transactions of the Mythic Society. "..... I am highly pleased also at your discovery of fresh examples of Tippu's broad-mindedness and tolerance, his presents to the temples of Kalale and Melkote, of silver ritualistic vessels for worship."

We add our voice to the concluding refrain of Mr. Narasimhachar's report. "I have again to urge upon the notice of Government the urgent necessity for making early arrangements for the conservation of all the artistic structures in the State. In the interests of these noble monuments it is absolutely necessary to introduce the Ancient Monuments Preservation act as soon as possible."

Well, the State is usually so ready introducing the useful or beneficial Acts of British Government, we cannot easily realise what prevents it from copying this most salutary and respectable measure into its territory. We hope that the hesitation will not be of long continuance.

G. R. J.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(For January, 1919).

MR. VINCENT SMITH'S deft sketches of the great achievements of Sir M. Aurel Stein, provide very interesting reading. Sir Aurel is only 56 now, and since 1883, when he became a Ph. D., at 21, he has been a tireless labourer in the spheres of Exploration, Antiquarian lore and brilliant authorship. His translation of Kalhana's Rajatarangani in 1900 has been hailed as a classic, and this has been followed, at short intervals, by epoch making publications concerning the antiquities of Central Asia, especially of the Pamirs and of Chinese Turkestan. Viewed from the point of quantity alone (viz., materials for history unearthed by him) Mr. Smith, remarks in two places,—

"Even if he should not feel equal to further toilsome exploration in deserts and mountains, the material already collected by him is enough to furnish work for scores of scholars during scores of lives."

"The mass of material brought home from all the three expeditions is so enormous that it may be said that work on it will never be finished."

Sir Richard C. Temple of the *Indian Antiquary* reviews at some length in this number, Sir James George Frazer's recently published "Folklore in the Old Testament." The review is worth one's careful attention not more for its powers of masterly analysis than for its striking even-handedness in apprising criticism. When Sir G. J. Frazer, after plainly pointing out the traces of primitive superstition in the Old Testament, proceeds to express his unbounded admiration for the higher side of the Hebrew genius which has manifested itself in a spiritual religion and a pure morality, Sir Richard Temple, turns round quietly and suggests to Sir James that "if he were to apply his comparative method to the sacred literature of other Semitic races and of other Indo-European races as developed in the East, he would find that much of what is quoted above can be said to be true of the Vedic Hymns, the Pahlavi *gathas*, the Pali texts and those of the Quran.

In these days of rapidly accumulating knowledge in the sphere of immemorial religious beliefs, absence of dogmatism on the part of investigating scholars, is to be specially welcomed, and it is on this score that we recommend a careful perusal of Sir Richard Temple's review of a great scholar's work.

This number also contains very instructive *In Memoriams* of three great Orientalists who breathed their last during 1918, *viz.*, Prof. Lawrence Heyworth Mills of Oxford University, Prof. Frederic Rudolf Hoernle, the great Oriental Grammarian, and Prof. Julius Eggeling, Ph. D., the famous Oriental Grammarian and the translator of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, "the most important Vedic literature next to the Rig Veda".

The number for January, though slimmer than usual, maintains its wonted *imprimatur* among Oriental periodicals of the kind.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

March, 1919, Patna.

THE first three articles in this number are on the history of various coin-finds of the early Dravidian period, and of the Puri-Kushan period of the first three centuries of the Christian era, the fourth is on the discovery, rather re-discovery, of the images of two early Saisunakha Emperors Udayin and Nandi-Vardhana, (483-467. B. C. 449-409, B. C.) The article, by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal is remarkable for the fact that it brings out for the first time, through a Drama of Bhasa, the revelation, that from early times, the ²Indians were accustomed to keeping a *temporal* Temple outside the City, filled with statues of their sovereigns. "The

portraits of several generations of the Satavahana kings at Nanaghat are now explained in the light of Bhasa." Mr. Jayaswal infers that the present find also points in the same direction. The next article is a critical note on the famous Didarganj Image of a female Chowri bearer, fully in the round and of life size, discovered by accident on the banks of the Ganges near Patna in 1917. Dr. D. B. Spooner, is the author of the note, and in his own inimitable way, discusses the *genre* of the art of which it was the product, assigning to this art, the transition period which is surmised to have intervened between the Mauryan and the Kushan dynasties. The doings of Shivaji in South Konkan are narrated briefly but vividly by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. We have, in reviewing his estimate of Shivaji elsewhere, referred to the striking nobility of Shivaji as a soldier and statesman, and this finds corroboration in the episodes touched upon here.

This number of the Journal keeps up as well as ever its reputation for solid scholarship. The sympathetic speech of His Honour Sir Edward Albert Gait, Lieut. Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and President of the Society, is worth perusal by all who are interested in the tangled history of Indian's Past.

॥ भूषणलक्षणम् ॥

वामकर्णे विशेषेण शंकपत्रं निधापयेत् ।
त्रिचतुष्पञ्चमात्रं वा पत्रमण्डलविस्तृतम् ॥
कर्णनालघनस्यैव त्रिगुणं पत्रविस्तृतम् ।
यवं पत्रघनं प्रोक्तं श्वेताभं त्वतिमार्दवम् ॥
दक्षिणे मकराख्यं हि कुण्डलं सिंह एव वा ।
कुण्डलव्यासतुंगं तु त्रिचतुष्पञ्चमात्रकम् ॥
युत्त्या तत् कुण्डलं कृत्वा कर्णे स्कन्धोपरि न्यसेत् ।
अथवा कर्णयोर्विप्र ! वृत्तकुण्डलकं न्यसेत् ॥
वेदाङ्गुलं तु तत्तुङ्गं कुम्भाञ्जमुकुलोपमम् ।
अन्यद्वा सुन्दरोपेतं कल्पयेत् वृत्तकुण्डलम् ॥

जटामकुटसंयुक्तं युग्मसंख्याजटान्वितम् ।
मकुटस्योदयं विप्र चतुर्विंशाङ्गुलं भवेत् ॥
त्रिसप्ताङ्गुलतुङ्गं वा द्विर्नवाङ्गुल एव वा
केशान्तान्मकुटोच्चन्तु ललाटपटसंयुतम् ॥
मुखान्तसदृशं विप्र ! मकुटमूलविशालकम् ।
चतुष्पूरिमसंयुक्तं भान्वंशं पूरिमोदयम् ॥
तत्सप्ताष्टनवांशैकहीनमग्रविशालकम् ।
सन्ये नागार्कपुष्पञ्च वामे त्वर्धशशिं न्यसेत् ॥

कटिसूत्रसमायुक्तं कृत्तिकामानसंयुतम् ।*
 कटिसूत्रं त्रिसंख्याभिः सूत्रं प्रति घनं यवम् ॥
 कटिसन्ध्योपरिष्ठात्तु कटिसूत्रन्तु बन्धयेत् ।
 पञ्चषट्सप्तमात्रं वा कृत्रिमाननसंयुतम् ॥
 तद्विस्तारसमं तुङ्गं मेढूस्थोपरि कल्पयेत् ।
 मुक्तादामोरुदामस्य द्ययन्तरं रत्नसंयुतम् ॥
 कटिसूत्रं समाख्यातं कटकं वलयं शृणु ।

कटकं वलयोपेतं प्रकोष्ठं द्विजसत्तम ! ।
 कनिष्ठिकापरीणाहं वलयं मार्दवं हितम् ॥
 अथवा वलयस्यैव घनं द्वित्रियवंतु वा ।
 रचितं वलयं युग्मं प्रकोष्ठे तु निधापयेत् ॥
 मार्दवं रत्नबन्धं वा कृत्वा तु वलयं द्विज ! ।
 केयूरं कूर्परे न्यस्य वलयस्य घनान्वितम् ॥
 एकाकारं तु केयूरं सोष्टपत्राब्जसंयुतम् ।
 नानारत्नसमायुक्तं शैवलाभमथापि वा ॥
 पत्रपूरिमसंयुक्तं बाहुमध्ये द्विजोत्तम ! ।
 पत्रपूरिमनालन्तु केयूरसदृशं घनम् ॥
 त्रिचतुष्पञ्चमात्रं वा पत्रपूरिमविस्तृतम् ।
 तद्व्यासाध्यर्धतुङ्गं वा पादोनद्विगुणं तु वा ॥
 द्विगुणं वापित्तुङ्गं तद्बाहुवलयं भवेत् ।
 बाहुवलयपर्वस्था वृत्तायतघनान्विताः ॥
 उदरबन्धविशालं तु एकद्वियज्यङ्गुलं तु वा ।

[एक*] द्वित्रियवं वाथ उदरबन्धघनं भवेत् ॥
 नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तं नानारत्नैर्विचित्रितम् ।
 नाभेरुर्ध्वं गुणांशं तु नीत्वोदरं तु बन्धयेत् ॥
 पादयोर्मध्यमादन्यास्त्वङ्गुलामुद्रिकान्विताः ।
 यवद्वयघनाः सर्वे त्वङ्गुलानान्तु मध्यगाः ॥
 पादौ जालकसंयुक्तौ गुल्फाधस्तात् द्विजोत्तम ! ।
 जालकाबन्धसूत्रात्तु यवद्वयघनान्वितम् ॥
 तत्सूत्राज्जालकालंतु त्रिपञ्चयवमात्रकम् ।
 त्रियवं नालकञ्जाल शेषं वै जालकोदयम् ॥
 तदुन्नतसमं व्यासं यवमानं तु तद्धनम् ।
 शेषं तस्यावगाढं स्यात् गाढहीनं घनन्तु वा ॥
 घनयुक्तं तु वृत्तं स्यात् अन्तःपाषाणसंयुतम् ।
 घनं पाषाणरहितं तुङ्गार्धं नीत्रमुच्यते ॥

यज्ञोपवीतसंयुक्तं यवाष्टांशघनान्वितम् ।
 उपवीतं त्रिसूत्रं स्यात् उरस्सूत्रसमन्वितम् ॥
 एक एवोरुसूत्रं स्यात् उपवीतघनं समम् ।
 वामस्कन्धोपरि न्यस्य नाभ्यधस्त्रयङ्गुलान्तरम् ।
 यज्ञोपवीतदीर्घं स्यात् नाभेर्दक्षिणपार्श्वगम् ॥
 अपरेवंशमाश्रित्य यज्ञसूत्रं निधापयेत् ।
 उरःसूत्रंसमालम्ब्य तारादष्टाङ्गुलान्तरम् ॥ †
 यज्ञोपवीतमेवं स्यात् छन्नवीरमथ शृणु ।

यज्ञोपवीतवद्विप्र ! स्कन्धयोरुभयोरपि ।
 पार्श्वयोश्चैव श्रोण्यूध्वे न्यस्त्वा स्तनान्तरैकवत् ॥
 ग्रीवे हारं विजानीयात् हिक्काधस्तात्षडङ्गुलम् ।
 लम्ब्य वेदाङ्गुलं तारं यवत्रयघनान्वितम् ॥
 नानारत्नैर्हिण्यैश्च हारं कृत्वातिसुन्दरम् ।
 हिक्कासूत्रोपरिष्ठातु उपग्रीवं तु बन्धयेत् ॥
 रुद्राक्षं वाथरत्नं वा हेमरत्नमणिस्तु वा ।
 उपग्रीवमिदं ख्यातं हन्मालात्वधुनोच्यते ॥
 कण्ठादुदरबन्धान्तं अक्षमालां तु बन्धयेत् ।
 एतद्द्वयमाला स्यात् स्कन्धमालापि चोच्यते ॥
 स्कन्धे तु स्कन्धमालास्यात् नानापुष्पैर्विराजितम् ।
 सर्वा वा ‡ सुन्दरं दैवं शेषं युक्तया समाचरेत् ॥
 (अंशुमद्वेदागमे एकषष्टितमाध्याये)
 सहजानां किरीटादि भूषणानां तथैव च ।
 वक्ष्यामि मानमधुना यथातथमनुक्रमात् ॥
 चतुर्विंशाङ्गुलायामं यद्वा पञ्चदशाङ्गुलम् ।
 मूलमध्याग्रनहनं किरीटस्य यथाक्रमम् ॥
 त्रिंशता सप्तभिर्भाभ्यां एकेनापि तथाङ्गुलैः ।
 तस्य मध्ये चतुर्दिक्षु पूरितानि प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
 शोभयेच्च महारत्नैरग्रे चैव शिखामणिम् ।
 चतुर्दशाङ्गुलोत्सेधं कल्पयेत्केशबन्धनम् ॥
 मूलपटं किरीटस्य विस्तीर्णं द्वयङ्गुलं भवेत् ।
 एकाङ्गुलममुष्याग्रं त्र्यङ्गुलं च शिखामणिम् ॥

‡ The correct reading might be सर्वाङ्गुलसुन्दरं.

पद्ममष्टदलं कुर्यादधस्ताच्च शिखामणेः ।
 द्विगोलकायतं चित्रैरन्यैरपि चशोभयेत् ।
 शिरसः पृष्ठाभागे स्याच्छिरश्चक्रं तु चक्रवत् ।
 विनाकृतं तु ज्वालाभिः पद्मं यद्वा यथारुचि ॥
 प्रकल्प्य मध्यतो दारं चक्रे गोलकमायतम् ।
 नहनं त्वङ्गुलं तस्य नालं स्यात्गोलकायम् ॥
 मकरं गोलकोत्सेधं कुर्यादष्टाङ्गुलायतम् ।
 तद्वक्त्रात्सुमनोदामनिःसृतं बाहुचक्रवत् ॥
 द्व्यङ्गुलं कर्णसुमनः कर्णदाम च लम्बयेत् ।
 हारं त्र्यङ्गुलविस्तारमग्रयोर्नेत्रबन्धनम् ।
 मुक्ताविभूषितं मध्ये महारत्नपरिष्कृतम् ॥
 कुर्याच्चदक्षिणे वक्षः स्थले श्रीवत्समङ्गुलम् ।
 अर्धाधिकं त्रिकोणं च तन्मध्ये कमलालयाम् ॥
 द्विहस्तामुद्यताम्भोजधारिणीं श्रियमङ्गुताम् ।
 किरीटहारकेयूरसर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ॥
 कुर्यात् गोलकविस्तारां मुखे पञ्चाङ्गुलायतम् ।
 त्रिगुणं ब्रह्मसूत्रं स्यान्नाभेश्चापि प्रदक्षिणम् ॥
 एकाङ्गुलं चोत्तरीयं नेत्रबन्धेन कारयेत् ।
 विस्तीर्णं द्व्यङ्गुलं मध्ये अग्रमेकाङ्गुलं भवेत् ॥
 मुक्तादाम [परि] प्कारं सर्वरत्नविभूषितम् ।
 कुक्षिवन्धनमाश्चर्यं नेत्रबन्धेन योजयेत् ॥
 मुक्तादाम च केयूरं कुर्यात्पूरितसन्निभम् ।
 सप्ताङ्गुलैश्च विस्तीर्णं नानारत्नपरिष्कृतम् ॥

गुलिकाङ्गुलिविस्तीर्णा आयता द्व्यङ्गुलेन च ।
 कुलिकानां त्रयं कुर्यान्नेत्रबन्धेन योजयेत् ॥
 सर्वरत्नपरिष्कारान् वलयांस्त्रीन् प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 एकाङ्गुलपरीणाहकटकैश्चोपशोभितान् ॥
 सौवर्णन्यङ्गुलीयानि बध्वानेकमणीनि च ।
 शोणो भोगो भवेत्तेषां द्वियवस्त्रियवोऽपि वा ।
 मध्यमामङ्गुलीं नैव मण्डयेदङ्गुलीयकैः ॥
 त्र्यङ्गुलः कटिसूत्रस्य विस्तारो रत्नशोभितः ।
 तन्मध्ये त्रिवलिश्चैव पञ्चाङ्गुलसमायुतम् ॥
 चतुरङ्गुलविस्तारं दं कुटिलमाननम् ।
 वृत्ताक्षं भ्रुकुटीयुक्तमास्यनिर्भ्रतमौक्तिकम् ॥
 कुर्यान्मौक्तिकदामानि त्रीण्यागुल्फं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 पादाकल्पं त्रिकटकं द्व्यङ्गुलं परिणाहतः ॥
 नूपुरं च तथा कुर्यात् किङ्किणीजालमण्डितम् ।
 वस्त्रं च पीतपूर्वं तदागुल्फं पार्श्वलम्बितम् ॥
 (पाद्मसंहितायां विंशाध्याये)

उष्णीषभूषणं कुर्यात् त्रिमात्रेण विशेषतः ।
 पार्श्वयोः पुरतः पृष्ठे चतुष्पूरिसमन्वितम् ॥
 मध्ये मकरकूटं स्यात्सप्तकोटरसंयुतम् ।
 पार्श्वयोः पत्रकूटं स्यात् पृष्ठे स्याद्रत्नकूटकम् ॥
 अग्रे दशाङ्गुलं तस्य मूले तु मुखविस्तरम् ।
 तत्तन्निगुणनाहं तु वामे वामेऽर्धचन्द्रकम् ॥

वामे महापणिं (?) तस्य सर्वालङ्कारभूषितम् ।
 जटाभिः पञ्चभिर्गन्धि त्रिमात्रेण विशेषतः ॥
 एकधा त्रितुधावृत्य शेषाभिः पार्श्वलम्बनम् ।
 जटामकुटमेतद्धि सर्वालङ्कारमीरितम् ॥

(उत्तरकामिकागमेऽष्टचत्वारिंशपटले)

अत्रैकाङ्गुलसम्मितेन परिवेष्टयोष्णीप्पट्टेन के
 कोटीरं मकुटोज्ज्वलं विरचयेदष्टाङ्गुलैः सर्वतः ।
 द्वाष्टाभिर्धृतिसम्मितैर्दिनकरद्वन्द्वप्रमैरङ्गुलै-
 रुष्णीषोपरिभासमानमकुटोपेतं किरीटं हरौ ॥
 कुर्यात्किरीटं शिखरैरुपेतं

त्रिपञ्चसप्तप्रमितैर्यथार्हम् ।

अण्डोपमं वा कमलोपमं वा

छत्रोपमं वा कमटोपमं वा ॥

युग्मसंख्या जटाः कार्या उभयोः पार्श्वयोः पृथक् ।

द्वात्रिंशन्मात्रमारभ्याथैकाङ्गुलवृद्धितः ॥

एकषष्ठ्यंगुलान्तं तु जटादीर्घमुदाहृतम् ।

अथो जटादीर्घसमा तस्मादूर्ध्वोर्ध्वगा तथा ॥

क्रमान्यूना तु कर्तव्या तदर्हेषु समान्तरा ।

कनिष्ठांगुलिपरीणाहं जटानाहमुदाहृतम् ॥

जटामकुटतुङ्गन्तु चतुर्विंशांगुलं तु वा ।

सप्तादशाङ्गुलं वाथ कुर्यादष्टादशांगुलम्

एकविंशाङ्गुलं वाथ कुर्यादष्टादशांगुलम् ।

केशान्तान्मकुटान्तं तु ललाटे पट्टसंयुतम् ॥
 मुखान्तव्याससदृशं मकुटस्य विशालतः ।
 तुंशार्धं वा त्रिपादं वा यथाशोभं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
 तत्सप्ताष्टनवांशैकहीनमग्रविशालकम् ।
 चतुष्पूरिमसंयुक्तं भान्वंशं पूरिमोदयम् ॥
 सव्येजटायां कर्तव्या मूर्ध्नि गंगाप्रमाणतः ।
 भान्वङ्कुलायता वाथ षोडशाङ्गुलसमुच्छ्रया ॥
 हृदयेज्जलिसंयुक्ता प्रोक्तस्त्रीलक्षणान्विता ।
 किरीटमकुटं चैव केशं वा तत्र कल्पयेत् ॥
 त्रिपञ्चसप्तसङ्ख्यैस्तु करण्डैश्च विराजितम् ।
 करण्डमकुटं कार्यमन्यत् सर्वं यथापुरम् ॥
 त्रिचतुष्पञ्चमात्रं स्यात् पत्रकुण्डलविस्तृतम् ।
 यवं वृत्तघनं प्रोक्तं श्वेताभं वातिमार्दवम् ॥
 माकरंकुण्डलं वाथ सिंहकुण्डलमेव वा ।
 गजादिकुण्डलं वाथ द्विचतुष्पञ्चमात्रकम् ॥ §
 कुर्याद्व्यासं च तुङ्गञ्च तत्तदाकारभेदतः ।
 वृत्तकुण्डलं विस्तारमष्टादशयवं भवेत् ॥
 वेदांशं तुवत्तुङ्गं ० रम्भाब्जमुकुलोपमम् ।
 हिक्कासूत्रोपरिष्ठात्तु उपग्रीवन्तु बन्धयेत् ॥

§ It is very likely that द्वि

is a mistake for त्रि.

0 The reading may be चैवतः.

रुद्राक्षं वा थ रत्नं वा हेमरत्नमणिस्तु ॥ वा ।
 नानाचित्रविचित्रं तु प्रैवेयं वा यथोचितम् ॥
 कटकं वलयोपेतं प्रकोष्ठे तु प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 कनिष्ठाङ्गुलिपरीणाहं वलयं वर्तुलं तु वा ॥
 अथवा वलयस्यैव घनं मित्रियवं तु वा ।
 घनद्भिगुणविस्तारं नानारत्नविचित्रकम् ॥
 युगलं युगलं तत्तु प्रकोष्ठे तु प्रकल्पयेत् ।
 केयूरं कोर्परादूर्ध्वं वलयोक्तघनान्वितम् ॥
 एकाकारं तु केयूरं साष्टपादाब्जसंयुतम् ।
 नानारत्नसमायुक्तं शैवलाभमथापि वा ।
 पत्रपूरितसंयुक्तं बाहुमध्ये प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
 पत्रपुरितनालं तु केयूरसदृशं घनम् ।
 तत्पूरितां निधानालं बाह्यमृत्यामृतं तु वा ॥
 त्रिचतुष्पञ्चमात्रं वा पत्रपूरिताविस्तृतम् ।
 तद्व्यासार्धं तु तत्तुङ्गं पादोद्भिगुणं तु वा ॥
 ऋगुणं वापि कर्तव्यं तत्बाहुवलयं भवेत् ।
 मध्याङ्गुलं विना शेषा अङ्गुलामुद्रिकान्विताः ॥
 मुद्रिकामूलपर्वस्था वृत्तायवघनान्विताः ।
 रत्नचित्रविचित्रा वा तत्तद्योग्यं समाचरेत् ॥

यज्ञोपवीतं सर्वेषां यवाष्टांशधनान्वितम् ।
 उपवीतं त्रिसूत्राढ्यं उरःसूत्रसमन्वितम् ॥
 एकमेव ह्युरस्सूत्रं उपवीतधनान्वितम् ।
 वामस्कन्धोपरिष्ठात्तु नाभ्यधो द्यंगुलान्ततः ॥
 यज्ञोपवीतदीर्घं तु नाभेर्दक्षिणपार्श्वगम् ।
 अपरेवंशमाश्रित्य यज्ञसूत्रा निधापयेत् ॥
 सूत्रं समालम्ब्य स्तनादष्टाङ्गुलान्तरे ।
 यज्ञोपवीतवत्कार्यः स्कन्धयोरुभयोरपि ॥
 पार्श्वयोश्चैव योन्युर्ध्वे च्छन्नवीरमिदं विदुः ।

(शिल्परत्ने उत्तरभगे षोडशाध्याये)

(१३/१०)

N. J.
P.

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